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Barque under full sail leaving Portsmouth Harbour. Oil painting by John Christian Schetky (1778–1874).
Portsmouth City Museum.

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THE SEABORNE TRADE OF PORTSMOUTH 1650–1800

James H. Thomas, BA, PhD, FRHistS

The years between 1650 and 1800 were of vital importance for Portsmouth. While the dockyard grew in both size and importance, the town acquired a status that was both national and international. The complex relationship between the resident yard Commissioner, the Governor and the Mayor grew in significance. The town prospered. Writing in the 1720s Daniel Defoe remarked of Portsmouth:

> The town . . . hath been greatly enrich'd of late by the fleet's having so often and so long lain there, as well as large fleets of merchant-men, as the whole navy during the late war; besides the constant fitting out of men here, and the often paying them at Portsmouth, has made a great confluence of people thither on their private business . . . : These things have not only been a great advantage to the town, but has really made the whole place rich, . . .[1]

In this account he was commenting upon the dual importance of the sea to Portsmouth, epitomised in the naval presence and in the activities of merchant shipping. This second element has, however, been neglected somewhat by historians in favour of the idea that Portsmouth's development can only be seen in the context of a substantial naval influence. The purpose of this paper is to try and help rectify, albeit somewhat modestly, this imbalance. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Portsmouth possessed a dynamic economy, substantial elements of which were linked to the town's extensive trading activities. Although much of this was related to the important highway leading down from London it was apparent, even to contemporaries, that Portsmouth's lifeline was tied closely to the sea. A consideration of the town's seaborne trade is perhaps best handled by offering answers to certain questions. What was the pattern and nature of Portsmouth's seaborne trade? Did any of the great contemporary trading ventures have any special interest in the town? What was the volume and value of such trade? How important was the fishing industry locally? What impact did the town's merchant community have? Answers to these questions, as well as a consideration of other relevant aspects, will be offered in the pages that follow.

The pattern of seaborne trade consisted of four main strands: domestic coastal trade, foreign trade, naval and military and the illicit. For coastal trade, a very noticeable pattern was evident during the years between 1650 and 1800. From a westerly direction, Beaumaris in Anglesey was the departure point for supplies of oats destined for Portsmouth.[2] During the 1750s, and probably before, vessels left the Dial slip in Bristol, carrying butter from Ireland to Portsmouth. In the 1730s Bridgwater craft brought in supplies of both timber and bottles. Ships leaving Exeter brought round supplies of oats and, not infrequently, sailed in ballast.[3] With Plymouth there were also thriving trading links; the *Nancy's Adventure*, the *William and Hannah* and a third vessel were described in the early 1780s as 'constantly going to and from' there, 'Wind and Weather permitting, . . .'. From Weymouth tobacco and much agricultural produce were shipped up the coast,[4] while there were also important trading connections with Lymington. Coastal craft from that port sailed frequently for London, putting in at Portsmouth. By the mid-1780s eleven vessels were making the run regularly, ships such as the *Phoenix* commanded by William Footner, the *Bewley* under James White, the *Providence* under William Hibbard and the *Neptune* under John Revans. Additionally the *Good Intent* left Lymington each Monday for Portsmouth, and the *Owner's Goodwill* on Tuesdays, for the carriage of both goods and passengers.[5] From Southampton arrived supplies of malt. Between June 1717 and June 1718, for example, nearly 50 per cent by volume of the malt sent out from Southampton was destined for Portsmouth.[6] Supplies of wine, timber and brandy were also shipped in from Southampton, while there was considerable trade with Portsmouth by the small outport of Redbridge. Three craft arriving from there in 1799 – the *Fanny* on 17 May, the *May* on 28 August, and the *John and Elizabeth* on 2 September – carried paper.[7]

Coastal vessels arriving at Portsmouth from the east brought rather different cargoes. From the Sussex ports came ships laden with grain and flour, with timber and groceries.[8] When surgeon's mate John Knyveton took refreshment in 1752 at a Portsmouth hostelry he seated himself by the window:

> having a fine view of the ships and the distant Isle of Wight; and there did take a stoup of wine and a small collation, marvelling at the merchantmen, which carry cattle and merchandise round from the Sussex and Kent coasts and from Ireland, and at the black hulls of the Warships.[9]

From further afield came lumbering, slow-moving colliers, so vulnerable in the seventeenth century when they had, perforce, to run the gauntlet of marauding Dutch squadrons as they made their way southwards with valuable supplies from Newcastle and Sunderland. Despite the mid-seventeenth century conviction that Hampshire held coal deposits,[10] supplies thoughout the period 1650–1800 had to be shipped in. Upon reaching Portsmouth the vessels disgorged their precious cargoes which were then distributed to the many coal merchants to be found in the town. Some of those operating in late eighteenth-century Portsmouth are tabulated.

Table 1

Coal Merchants in Portsmouth during the 1780s and 1790s

Name:	*Residence:*	*Time span:*
Anthony Atcheson	Broad Street	1784–98
James Bailey	Portsea	1798
John Budd	Portsmouth Common	1783
Joseph Cave	Portsmouth	1798
Edward Frett	Portsea	1798
William Garnett	Portsea	1798
Thomas Harling	Warblington Street	1784–98
James Holmes	King Street	1784
Joseph Holmes	Portsmouth	1783
George Hookey	Portsmouth	1798 (also a grocer)
? Kimber and ? Hill	Portsmouth	1783
Thomas Matthew	St Mary Street	1784
Thomas Naters	Portsea	1783–98 (also a timber merchant)
John Shoveller	Portsea	1798
George Anson Thompson	Portsea	1798

Sources: *Bailey's Western and Midland Directory* (1783), pp. 309–11; J Sadler, *The Hampshire Directory* (1784), pp. 100–4; *Universal British Directory of Trade, Commerce, and Manufacture* (5 vols. 1793–8) IV, passim.

Many of the merchants sold the incoming supplies to local service establishments, including the dockyard, the growing barrack complex, Weevil victualling yard and Haslar hospital.[11] In the first quarter of 1787, for example, nearly 74 chaldrons were purchased for use by the Portsmouth Division of Marines.[12] Other quantities were carted inland to communities such as Hambledon and Warnford.[13] Coal supplies coming in during this period were shipped not only from the North East of England but from Wales as well. It was reported from Pembroke in May 1666, for example, that 'a Fleet of Colliers about 40 sail, are under the Convoy of the "Martin" and a small Catch, bound for Portsmouth . . .'. In the early seventeenth century, supplies coming to Portsmouth were small. In the year ending Christmas 1612, only one cargo of coal from Newcastle arrived.[14] Supplies of coal coming into Portsmouth during the years 1650–1825, however, increased just as they did for the nearby port of Southampton (see Table 2).

The measuring of such supplies and the consequent duty payment involved led to a certain amount of friction in Portsmouth during the early years of the eighteenth century. Irate customs officials in London wrote seeking an urgent explanation from some of their Portsmouth colleagues:

> In Answer to yours of the 22d Ult[i]mo Inform[in]g us that Coals are measured at your Port by a Bushel Seal'd by the Corporation which contains one Bushel and Five Eighths Winchester measure and that they will not admit of any other Bushel to be made use of and tho' you formerly caus'd Several Bushels to be made of the Dimensions required by Act of Parliam[en]t: the Corporation Ordered them to be Burnt We direct you to Inform us whether you take the Duties on Coals measured by the Corporation Bushel for one Bushel or whether you oblidge the Merchants to pay the Duties for one Bushel and Five Eighths the Proportion the S[ai]d Corporation Bushel bears to the Bushel required by Act of Parliam[en]t and you are also to inform us by what Authority the Corporation have Establisht the Present Bushel made use of and the Exact Dimensions

Table 2

Coal imports into Portsmouth and Southampton 1650–1825 (in cwts)

	1651	*1678*	*1683*	*1731*	*1820*	*1825*
Portsmouth	?	?	88,510	162,180	1,249,144	1,266,434
Southampton	20,696	82,706	222,070	171,031	1,293,994	1,280,448

Sources: T. S. Willan, *The English Coasting Trade 1600–1750* (1967 reprint), pp. 210, 211; J. U. Nef, *The Rise of the British Coal Industry* (2 vols. 1966 reprint), II, p. 385; See also n. 12 below. Appendix to report from *Select Committee on the State of the Coal Trade in the United Kingdom 1830: British Parliamentary Papers* (I.U.P. Series: Fuel and Power; Coal Trade), I, pp. 128–134.

thereof and upon what Grounds they Burnt the Bushel provided according to the Dimensions required by Law and how they came to have the said Bushel in their Power.[15]

Clearly there was scope for all interested parties, coal merchants, custom officials and Portsmouth Corporation alike, to feel aggrieved in such circumstances.

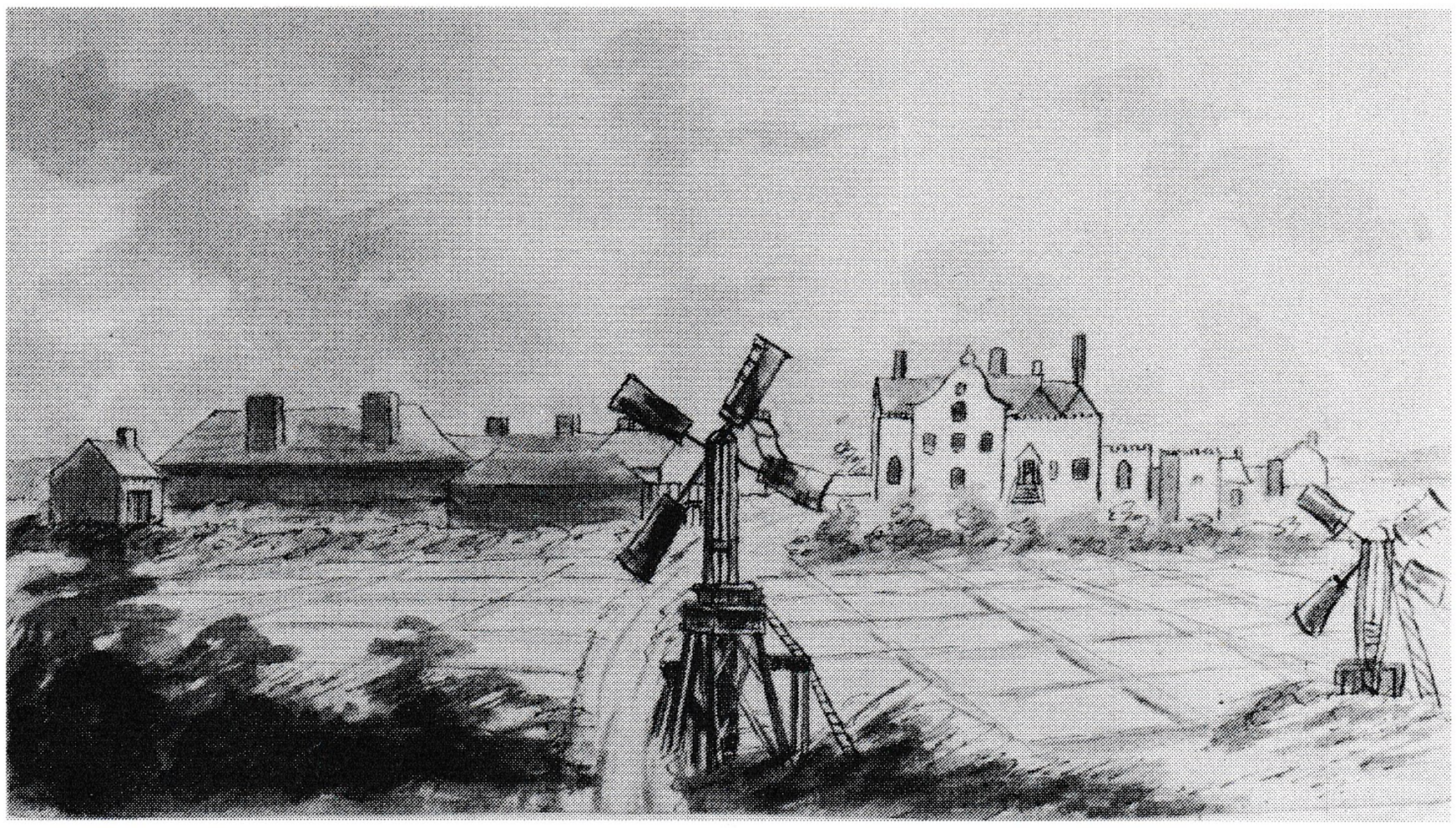
With almost monotonous regularity, however, there was also friction of another sort. The arrival of colliers caused problems for the town. Friction arose between local residents and the hardened collier crewmen, or simply amongst the latter themselves. In June 1747 Lancelot Pringle, a town labourer, complained that a collier master had assaulted him. In October 1714 John Archer, a crewman of the *Speedwell* of Sunderland, alleged assault by a shipmate who employed his fists first and then a broom for good measure. In June 1753, a crew member of the *Humphrey*, a North Shields vessel, was assaulted by the master, William Pigg.[16] Furthermore, the ships themselves, and their attendant lighters, became targets for the legions of Portsmouth petty pilferers abounding during the last two decades of the eighteenth century.[17]

Vessels plied constantly between Portsmouth and the Isle of Wight. Late in 1678 Benjamin Newland, an East Cowes merchant, was regularly shipping supplies of wine and linen to Portsmouth, some of the wine going to stock the well-provisioned cellars of Petersfield's many inns.[18] It was *via* such links that much island-produced meat also reached Portsmouth. In 1705, for example, West Cowes butcher Edward Bannister sold quantities of island mutton at a Portsmouth inn, appropriately enough the *Isle of Wight Hoy*. Boats sailed in from the small port of Brading as well, even if they had difficulty in returning as happened to John Williams in May 1726 when the mainsail was stolen from his craft![19] By the 1780s a regular service of sailings had been established. 'A Vessel sails every Morning for Cowes, from Mrs Alcock's, on the Point; as also Ryde Boats, daily', commented the compiler of Hampshire's first trade directory in 1784. That same work shows that the residents of West Cowes included William Stephens, described as 'Master of a Portsmouth Trader'. The link with Ryde was such that one early nineteenth-century guidebook could comment, 'By this means, butter, eggs and poultry, are sent to Portsmouth market.'[20]

There were also, during this period, a number of passenger services. Three passenger boats sailed daily to and from Fareham in the 1780s, with the exception of Sundays. Arriving in the morning, the vessels returned from Portsmouth in the evening, charging 3d. per passenger.[21] Ships carrying passengers left Portsmouth for Southampton one day and returned the next. On 24 November 1755 John Watson, master of the sloop *Prosperous* 'employed in the Passage Business between Southampton and Portsmouth . . .', complained that the hawser mooring his vessel in the harbour had been cut, and that part had been stolen. A length had, meanwhile, been spotted by the alert master in the yard of Barton Miles 'who keeps the Sign of the Lion on the Point'.[22] There were also to be found many hoys sailing between the various parts of the harbour, to Gosport and to Fareham, as well as across to the Isle of Wight. By the late 1790s a well established coaster and packet service operated from Portsmouth (Table 3).

Goods shipped outwards from Portsmouth aboard coastal craft went to various destinations. During 1760–1, for example, some 34 Portsmouth vessels sailed to Plymouth Sound, to the lower reaches of the river Plym, to Plymouth yard and to Cargreen on the river Tamar.[23] Foodstuffs went out, though not in vast quantities. Between February 1698 and February 1700 some four tons of bread and biscuits were shipped out, as were bushels of peas. When trade in such commodities is compared with the performance of other ports for this two-year period, however, Portsmouth ranked sixth behind Exeter, Bristol, Barnstaple, Plymouth and Lyme Regis.[24] Shipments of grain, flour, timber and groceries went regularly from Portsmouth down to Exeter in the 1760s and 1770s by coastal vessel.[25]

The one commodity of major importance as a cargo outward from Portsmouth for coastal shipping was salt. Essential for the flavouring and preservation of foodstuffs, salt was processed in great quantities in Hampshire, especially at Lymington and on Portsea Island.[26] Of large scale producers there were more than a few. Richard Alchorne and his associate Dr William Quatremaine received a grant of 300 acres 'lately overflowed by the sea' at Gatcombe Haven and developed extensive salt workings by mid-1663. The processed salt was then sold by them to the victualling authorities.[27] A neighbouring producer, Roger Warre, sent some of his salt inland to the Petersfield area, but shipped out much of the remainder.[28] The amounts sent out to individual ports could be quite substantial. During the period Christmas 1730 to Christmas 1731, for example, some 1,130 bushels of salt left Portsmouth for Chichester.[29] The risks in carrying salt were considerable – capture by privateer, impressment or the wrecking of the ship itself. An early eighteenth-century deposition makes plain what could so easily happen. On 13 August 1705 Thomas Ayres, master of the *Elizabeth and Mary* of London, told how on 30 July his vessel 'att the new Salterne in Portsea Isle' was loaded with 3,753 bushels of white salt and 5 of bay salt. During the night of 10 August, however, while waiting for the protection of a convoy, the ship was caught in a sudden violent storm as a result of which



'another Shipp was drove on board his said Vessell'. Within a short time the *Elizabeth and Mary* was parted from her anchor and driven

> ashore upon the Beach near South Sea Castle upon Satterday Morning the Eleaventh day of this Instant August and there by the violence of the Storme was Stranded and the water ranne into her hold and there washt away and Consumed all the said Salt.[30]

On many occasions in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries salt figured substantially in the cargoes of vessels arriving in Portsmouth, brought in by force of war or by adverse weather. Typical of this was the *John and Andrew* of 'Preston Pans' that arrived in late September 1715. Laden with salt from St Martin in France and destined for Danzig, the vessel was 'by Violent Stormes forced to make for the first port'.[31]

Important though the coastal trade obviously was to Portsmouth, it was overshadowed by foreign trade, merchant vessels arriving from many remote parts of the World. There were considerable shipping connections with the New World and the Atlantic colonies. In February 1667, for instance, Colonel Thomas Middleton, resident Portsmouth Commissioner, was ordered to inspect all merchantmen at Portsmouth destined for Barbados, in preparation for the transporting of troops and equipment there under the command of Lord Willoughby.[32] Bad weather in early 1670 drove the *White Unicorn*, laden with hides and tobacco from the West Indies, to seek refuge in Portsmouth and undergo extensive repairs. That February, the *Orange Tree* arrived from Bermuda, *en route* for London with a cargo of fruit.[33] Seals for the governments of Barbados, Bermuda and the Leeward Islands were sent to Portsmouth in January 1710 for delivery to outward-bound captains.[34] During the period 1715–65 Portsmouth had extensive commercial links with North America, some of the town's thriving merchant community being heavily

Table 3

Coaster and Packet Services from Portsmouth in 1798

Port	*Frequency per week*	*Ship*	*Master*
Cowes	Daily bar Sunday	*Royal William*	William Stevens
		Sally	Edward Stephens
		Three Brothers	Richard Stephens
Le Havre	?	*Charlotte*	John Davies
		Enterprise	Thomas Clear
		Maria	James Clear
		Tartar	Daniel Smith
Lymington	Once	*Owners Goodwill*	Joseph Smith
Newport	Once	*Good Intent*	John Ballard
		Philip & Jane	James Furmidge
		William & Mary	John Wendover
Poole	Once	*Active*	Joseph Pitt
		Hope	William Vincent
Southampton	Three times	*Elizabeth*	Richard Masters
		Johanna	Richard Benham

Source: *Universal British Directory of Trade, Commerce, and Manufacture*, IV (1798), p. 198.

Salt Workings on Portsea Island in the late eighteenth century.
Portsmouth City Museum.

involved. Thomas Missing, merchant prince, contractor, Southampton MP and professional liar, busied and enriched himself supplying food to garrisons in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland.[35] In June 1719 the London-based Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, clearly in desperate straits, had to borrow a map of Nova Scotia from Mr Ridge, King's brewer in Portsmouth, assuring him 'it shall be carefully returned again'.[36] Train oil, extracted from whales and used primarily as a lubricant, and England's only direct import from Newfoundland in the early eighteenth century, was sold to the navy at Portsmouth by William Rickman. A local Alderman who imported beaver skins, Rickman wrote to the Duke of Richmond in April 1794 with sugary hopes that he would be remembered when contracts were awarded for Nova Scotia.[37] In the 1750s ships put in at Portsmouth quite regularly from South Carolina, while in the following decade pine planking was being imported from North Carolina for dockyard use.[38]

There were also important commercial links with Europe. Ships arrived regularly at Portsmouth from the Iberian peninsula, bringing in wines and various other commodities. In mid-April 1704 there appeared the following advertisement:

> These are to give Notice, That there is an entire parcel of about Forty Pipes of true Canary Wine upon the Lee, as they came from the Canaries, to be sold by publick Sale at Portsmouth on the 26th Instant; and printed Bills will be given out, setting forth the Conditions of the said Sale, at the Dwelling-House of Mr. John Blakley, Merchant, in Portsmouth, a week before the Sale.[39]

Vessels bound for the Canaries from France frequently sojourned at Portsmouth before continuing their journey southward. In September 1668 one such craft, with a cargo of linen and barley

> by the heating of the Corn took fire and burnt down to the water, two of the company perished with the vessel, the Master and two others getting away in their boats.[40]

In mid-May 1743 a local Jewish lad was attacked in Portsmouth by Peter Dussessa 'that belongs to a Portuguese ship now in the harbour'. At least one Portsmouth ship in the 1750s traded regularly with Portugal. In mid-April 1757 Clatworth Thackstone, master of a Portsmouth merchant craft the *Sarah*, told how in the previous February, Richard West had signed on for a voyage to Oporto, only to desert before the ship left harbour. In late May 1757 Juan de La Bastida, captain of *La Ysabel y Santa Laura*, was attacked by one of his crew.[41]

Merchant craft also plied between Portsmouth, France and the United Provinces with, of course, obvious breaks during periods of war with those two powers. In mid-January 1662 Samuel Williams, a prominent Portsmouth merchant, petitioned for an allowance on defective French wines landed at Portsmouth.[42] In July 1704 a 'parcel of very good French Wines' was advertised for sale by Thomas Ridge. He, in many ways, epitomised all that was good and bad about Portsmouth's merchant community in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Prosperous merchant, brewer, contractor and MP he hosted the Queen of Portugal when she visited Portsmouth in 1708 because he was considered to occupy the only decent residence in the town. Three years later, however, he was to be shamed when his nefarious naval contracting practices caught up with him and he was ejected ignominiously from the Commons.[43] Vessels from the United Provinces were frequent visitors to Portsmouth. In spring 1710 a consignment of wines was seized 'being imported contrary to law', and was later claimed by Gaspar Mendez of Rotterdam.[44] During the eighteenth century vessels of the Dutch East India Company called regularly at Portsmouth. On Christmas Day 1729 Hendrick Lammers, a crewman from the *Papemburgh*, complained of the theft from the ship's boat of some green cloth cushions and other items, and that the Company's property had been hidden somewhere in Portsmouth.[45] In November 1770 the presence of an infected outward-bound Dutch East Indiaman at Spithead, with a crew of 286, allegedly 'alarmed the whole city of London'. Some 90 of the men were ill with fever, and two local custom-house officers put aboard the vessel had died as a result. Within a week, however, the ship had put to sea, doubtless to everybody's relief.[46]

During the years 1650–1800 important trading links also existed with the various Baltic powers. In January 1666 it was reported from Portsmouth that a great fleet of ships convoyed by a dozen frigates had arrived from Norway with naval supplies. That spring three ships sailed in from Sweden; one arrived in April, with pipe-staves for the navy's use, two more in May carried pitch, tar and iron.[47] In January 1711 Andreas Ingerson, mate of the *Staden* from Stockholm, complained of being assaulted by a crew member while the vessel was moored in Portsmouth harbour. In the following year a Danish privateer called *State of Burghen* was involved in the illicit landing of barrels on Gosport beach. Early in December 1719 a customs officer complained that John Anderson, master of the *St Paul* of Copenhagen, had attacked him with a cutlass.[48] Portsmouth also forged impressive trading links with Muscovy,

later to be known as Russia. The naval stores imported from there into Portsmouth during 1708–9 included c.500 tons of rough hemp, 365 deals and 600 handspikes.[49] The progress of such traffic was reported upon regularly; on 27 November 1709, for example, it was noted from Deal that five ships had passed with stores for Portsmouth and Plymouth from Archangel. Such trade grew as the eighteenth century progressed, particularly in the enlightened era of improved Anglo–Russian naval co-operation in the 1760s and 1770s which resulted in Russian ships and sailors being regular visitors to Portsmouth.[50]

Such activities had many important effects on the town and port. Money could be made from supplying goods and services to the foreign visitors. In the mid-1770s, for example, visiting squadrons of Russian men-of-war were supplied regularly with beer at Spithead by a member of the Deacon family, prominent local brewers and merchants.[51] Some local men were employed as interpreters. To date, four have been identified. When John Niebek, the thirty-three year old master of the Hamburg vessel *The Morning Star*, appeared before the Mayor and other officials in January 1665, he was examined by William Francklin 'who spoke Dutch and English'.[52] In November 1709 depositions concerning pestilence aboard three Swedish vessels at Spithead – the *Charitas*, the *Emanuell* and the *Bleakins Wappin* – were taken by Michael Jastrum and John Terry. Depositions about a Danish vessel were taken three years later by Cornelius Colliss.[53] Desertion was a regular occurrence. When the China-bound *Prince of Wales* put in at Portsmouth in March 1747, a dozen of her crew de-

A page from the Portsmouth Book of Rates for Wharfage and other dues, 1680. This shows charges payable for goods landed or shipped on any part of the borough's soil. Portsmouth City Records Office.

serted and went into hiding in the town. Crewmen of a ship bound for Africa took to their heels in February 1757 before the vessel left Portsmouth.[54] This was a problem which seems also to have affected East India Company vessels quite seriously. An attempted troop mutiny on an East Indiaman at Spithead in April 1765 was met with swift retribution. A contemporary publication recorded that it was the third time the Company had had such trouble on outward-bound vessels that year, and on 'these occasions much blood has been spilt, and some lives lost'.[55] Violence in the town itself was also increased by incidents such as that of late February 1739 when crewmen from the Dutch East India ships *Gooid Schalxoort* and *Watervliet* attacked local mariner Thomas Cox on the Point, slashing him about the face with a knife.[56]

The armed forces generated a third category of seaborne trade for the town. Ordnance supplies were shipped regularly out of Portsmouth for defence establishments in the Isle of Wight, the Channel Islands, and other parts of Hampshire such as Calshot Castle. The *Unity* hoy was employed in this fashion in the early 1720s to carry necessary materials across to Cowes Castle in the Isle of Wight.[57] Such shipments were, however, to be subject to great fluctuations during the first half of the eighteenth century, especially in the era of financial retrenchment that followed the Utrecht settlement of 1713.[58] Late in January 1678 ammunition, equipment and tents were ordered to be sent to Jersey from Portsmouth 'and a vessel to be hired at Southampton',[59] a clear indication of Portsmouth's shortcomings at this time. In the first half of the eighteenth century locally made gun carriages were shipped frequently to both Guernsey and Jersey, as were substantial quantities of bricks. In April 1734, for instance, following a request from Mr Bastide, 'Engineer for the Islands of Jersey and Guernsey', Thomas Bowerbank was ordered to ship 22,000 bricks to Jersey and 30,000 to Guernsey.[60]

Materials coming into Portsmouth for the navy during this period were profuse. Southampton ships arrived with hemp from St Malo and timber from Hythe and Redbridge for dockyard use. In 1668 some 500 loads of timber, obtained from Titchfield Park, were shipped out from Warsash to Portsmouth.[61] From further west along the coast came important supplies of Portland stone for various uses in the yard. The contracts for supplying this important commodity were effectively cornered in the 1730s and 1740s by the ever-zealous and ever-humble William Rickman.[62] Supplies were coming in from other locations as well. Those shipped in from Deptford in 1664 included cottons and kerseys, 50 lasts of Stockholm tar, holland cordage and two tons of genoa cordage. Sir William Warren supplied 977 'Gottenburg' masts, spars and deals, some for Chatham and some for Portsmouth. Brimstone and rugs were also shipped in, as were supplies of Stockholm pitch.[63] Still other supplies came from further afield. Riga, under Swedish control between 1621 and 1710, and later the capital of Latvia, regularly sent quantities of flax and ship masts to Portsmouth in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.[64] And, as has been shown already, impressive supplies were coming in from Muscovy.

The problem items in naval supplies at this time were the perishable commodities of drink and food, in particular beer, butter and cheese. In the early part of the period supplies of butter sometimes arrived by road, such as the wagon loads sent down from London in mid-November 1656.[65] While beer was brewed locally and purchased by the navy, supplies of butter, cheese and other foodstuffs were, increasingly, sent round to Portsmouth by ship. On 6 September 1703 Richard Maundrell contracted to supply both butter and cheese to the navy at Portsmouth and Plymouth. Unfortunately, two of his craft, the *Hannah and Rebecca* and the *Happy Entrance*, laden with £845 worth of such commodities, were to be lost during the Great Storm that November.[66] Supplies of beef and pork were shipped in from Ireland, particularly for the victualling of expeditions during the 1740s. It was not, however, a one-sided picture, inasmuch as food supplies were also being shipped out of Portsmouth for naval use. On 18 June 1660 the Admiralty Commissioners in London were told of the arrival of the *Martin* from Portsmouth with provisions, 'but without bread, for want of which three other vessels are stayed there'. Nor, it should be remembered, was naval baking always lucrative. In July 1660 William Hunt of Portsmouth complained of feeling 'neither safe at home nor away for fear of arrests, more than £11,000 or £12,000 being due to him and his partners'. On 1 August 1660 he complained to the Navy Commissioners of having spent six weeks in London attempting to gain payment of an outstanding £1,226 6s. 1d. for biscuit.[67] The departure of any expedition was marked, of course, by the sailing of transport and victualling craft. It did not help matters if urgently-needed supplies were either sold to local residents and merchant vessels by colluding officers as in 1717,[68] or if contractors could not meet the stipulated delivery deadlines for their particular commodities.

The combined effect of excessive duties, high-handed action by customs officials and the lure of illicit gain drove some men to try and smuggle goods into Portsmouth. The problem, rife all along Hampshire's highly indented coastline, was exacerbated by insufficient policing agencies and the sheer effrontery of participants. In September 1679 a prominent local landowner wrote to the Secretary of State complaining not only of numbers involved but also of the

An East Indiaman, the PRINCESS ROYAL *in 1770. A vessel of 864 tons.* The National Maritime Museum.

fact that they had 'passed at first in the night, but of late in the daytime, and . . . with men guarding . . . with swords and pistols'.[69] Local tensions frequently increased as a result of the short shrift meted out by over-enthusiastic customs officials. Thus in July 1663 a special messenger had to be sent from London to Portsmouth to instruct local official Hugh Salisbury to return to merchant Daniel Skinner the ship *Hope* and her cargo of 164 pipes of Canary wine which had been impounded.[70] Equally zealous, if not more so, was John Arnold, a Portsmouth liquor merchant and Alderman, a customs official at Southampton from 1716, and at both there and Portsmouth from 1722.[71] In 1723 he issued peremptory instructions for a full-scale search of Norton family property at Southwick, where he suspected contraband goods had been hidden, on only the flimsiest of evidence. Two years later the Treasury conducted an official investigation into his activities, from which some rather embarrassing findings emerged. He was ordered to account for money raised by the public sale of confiscated wines and brandy at Portsmouth which had somehow never reached the Treasury, to account for inflating the value of rented property, for pocketing Crown money sanctioned for a clerk's employment, and for signing certificates for the importing of wine by a Mr Grover who was his brother-in-law.[72] In the main, however, it was the custom duties that impelled men to smuggle. Customs dues were cited as the reason for the decline of trade and general impoverishment to be found in Poole, Harwich and Portsmouth in a petition to the House of Commons in 1728.[73]

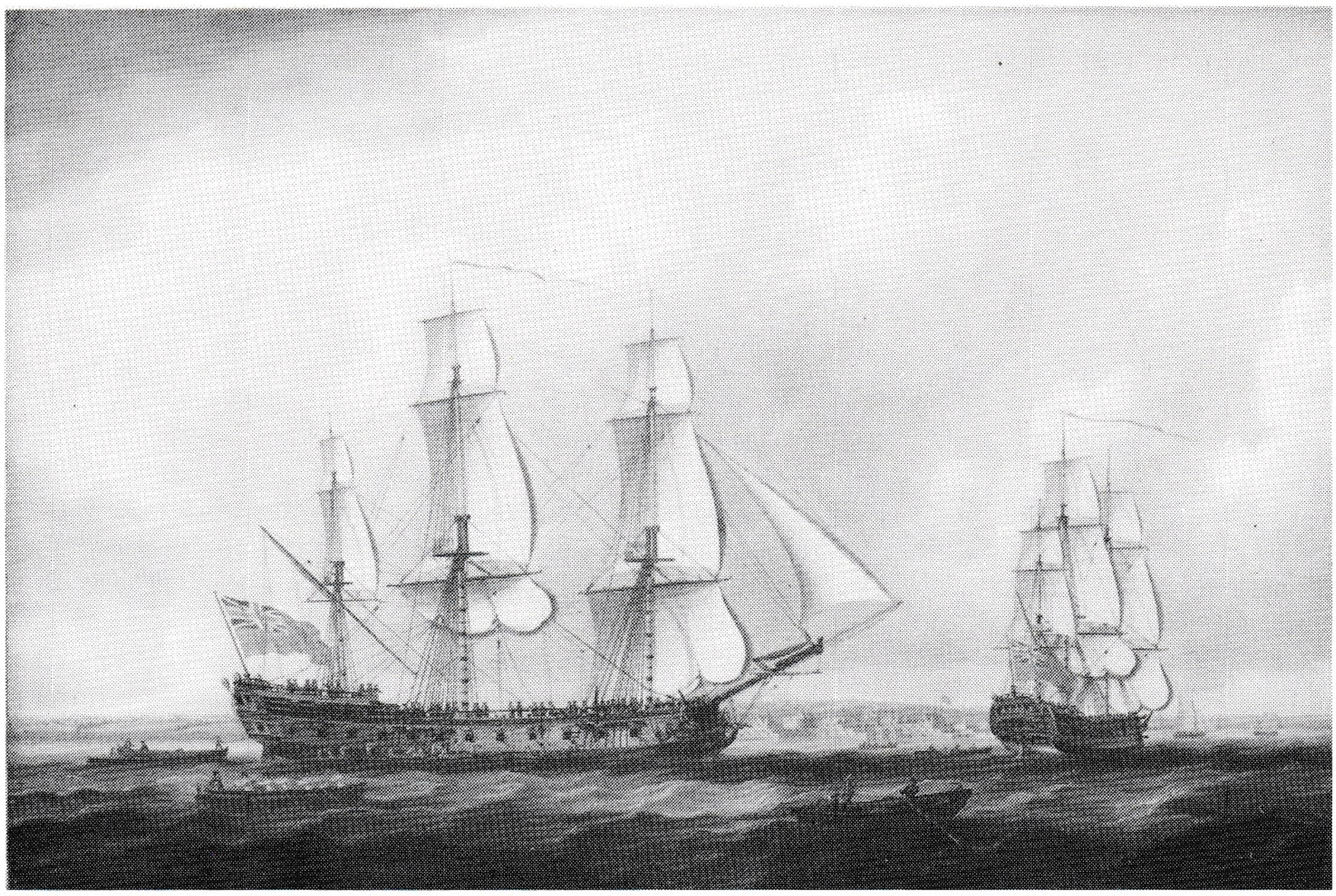
Commodities smuggled into Portsea Island during this period included tea, tobacco, wines and brandy. In July 1735 officers clashed with ten smugglers at Kingston Point and, after a struggle, impounded supplies of brandy. A few months later, in the same location, they secured 104lb of tea after encountering a pair of heavily-armed rogues.[74] In December 1742 Edward Brickell, a Gosport Excise officer, was informed that considerable quantities of tea had been fraudulently hidden in a Portsmouth house. In May 1760 local officer Elias Lucas stated that he suspected foreign exciseable goods had been concealed in the house of William Candy of Portsmouth Common.[75] Even when the authorities seemed to be winning, success could elude them at the last moment. In mid-June 1744 Samuel Chandler, an influential Portsmouth attorney, left for London with three witnesses for a smuggling case. At Redhill in Surrey vengeful smugglers struck and 'took from him his papers, and the 3 Witnesses'.[76] Occasionally, glimpses can be seen of the smugglers themselves. An undated gaol list amongst Sir Robert Walpole's papers includes a reference to local boatman Richard Peerman, concerned in unshipping wine and brandy:

> Represented to be a poor wherryman and his family maintained by the Parish of Portsea. He has been agent for a great many smuglers.[77]

Twice during summer 1767 smuggling vessels, one of which was a 150-ton collier, were burnt for bringing in illicit supplies of tea and brandy to Portsmouth.[78] The complex organisation involved, the wars against the American colonies and France in the 1780s and 1790s with the consequent increased duties and greater threat of impressment if caught,[79] make it impossible to quantify the goods that entered Portsmouth illegally. The problem of smuggling was compounded by wholly inadequate local policing. The customs establishment for Portsmouth in 1799 consisted of five Riding Officers one of whom, Owen Jones, was stationed at Warsash, and a number of other officials. There were also two 100-ton cutters and a boat at Hayling Island, the three vessels being crewed by a total of sixty men between them.[80]

While the picture of smuggling in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Portsmouth is, by virtue of its very nature, shrouded in obscurity that of the activities of the great contemporary trading concerns is much sharper. There is evidence to show that the Levant Company, the Royal African Company and the East India Company all had links with the port. Ships engaged in the lucrative but very risky Levant trade called at Portsmouth from at least the 1650s onwards, frequently being convoyed up the entire length of the English Channel. In July 1677 ships moored in Portsmouth harbour included a Levant Company vessel bound for Scanderoon in the eastern Mediterranean. In December 1735 two crewmen deserted from a Levant Company vessel while it was in the harbour.[81] Local residents participated in the trade. William Pitts, described as a Spanish merchant, paid duty of £3 13*s*. 2*d*. at Portsmouth in May 1675 on 'goods laden on board his Ma[jes]tyes Ship the Advice at Smirna'.[82] At least one eighteenth-century Alderman, John White, had money invested in the Royal African Company while Chamberlain Atkins took his involvement even further. He left Portsea in the 1740s to become the Company's factor at Cape Coast Castle on the Guinea Coast.[83]

During the years 1650–1800 Portsmouth also had very important links with the East India Company. From Portsmouth servants, passengers and officials alike left for India, having come down by coach and wagon from London. Interestingly, the contract for such services was held by members of the ubiquitous Ridge family in the 1670s.[84] Laden with passengers, cargo and Company mail, the outward-bound vessels would foregather and wait for favourable winds and a protective naval vessel or squadron to escort them down the Channel. Thus on 9 April 1678



Secretary of State Williamson was informed from Plymouth that the *Harwich* had just returned from convoying East India ships out of the Channel and was now on her way back to Portsmouth.[85] Incoming East Indiamen were similarly protected from preying Dutch, from the Dunkirk and Ostend privateers, and from corsairs operating from the North African Regencies of Tunis, Algiers and Tripoli. Examples abound during the period under review. In August 1652 the Council of State issued instructions for convoying East Indiamen and other ships from Plymouth up to Portsmouth. On 20 September 1710 three naval vessels sailed to meet the *Sutherland* and four incoming East Indiamen, convoying them safely back to Portsmouth.[86]

The Company exerted influence and impact upon the town in various ways. There were repair facilities for Company vessels, and storehouses for anchors and cables, described in June 1760 as having an 'inconvenient situation'. Their worth was soon proved, however, when a dockyard fire led to the Company offering for naval use on loan two cables which it had in store at Portsmouth.[87] Attempts by outsiders to break into the Company's rich trade with the East were dealt with swiftly. The case of the *Andaluzia*, which arrived at Portsmouth early in 1687, was typical. Ship, crew and cargo were all detained, a case brought in the High Court of Admiralty and the Company's agents at Hugli informed soon afterwards 'you need not fear of hearing of any more English interlopers in India during this Generation'.[88] The identities and destinations of Company vessels leaving for and returning from the East are known. Outgoing ships in January 1707 included the *Kent* bound for Canton, the *Stringer* for Chusan in Southern China, and the *Rochester* for St Helena and Bencoolen.[89] Incoming craft in September 1757 included the *Clinton* and *Hector* which arrived from Bombay and the *Syren sloop* and the *King's Fisher*, both from Bengal. On 6 November five vessels arrived from the East – the *Oxford* from Bencoolen, the *Delawar* from Bengal and the *Harcourt, Stormont* and *Griffin* from China. Details are also known of some cargoes. When, on 14 July 1767, Lord Clive arrived in Portsmouth aboard the *Britannia* Indiaman, the vessel carried raw silk, redwood and saltpetre. Further evidence of contact may perhaps be gleaned from the fact that Company vessels included in 1704 a 26 gun, 360 ton vessel called the *Hampshire*.[90]

Portsmouth served the Company in other ways. It was a major embarkation point for expeditionary forces raised by the Company which possessed its own army until the 1857 Mutiny. During the Seven Years War of 1756–63 against France numerous troops were embarked for India at Portsmouth. Furthermore, to ensure that all appropriate arrangements were made and necessary measures taken, it was customary for the Company to send down to Portsmouth two directors to oversee preparations as in April and May 1760 when George Steevens, Giles Rooke, John Harrison and Richard Warner were sent from London 'to give the proper directions for and to regulate the embarkations of the Troops designed for the East Indies.' Archibald Campbell and James Irwin were sent to fulfil similar instructions in March 1796. Even though they were

Table 4

Troop movements to India 1792–1794

	1792	*1793*	*1794*
Embarked	4,707	3,817	1,877
Landed	4,614	3,749	1,837
Died	76	54	33
Drowned	10	8	7
Run	3	5	—
Not accounted for	3	—	—
Left sick	1	—	—
Taken out of Ship	—	1	—

Source: India Office Library and Records B/122, East India Company Court Minutes 1795–1796, p. 1361.

on hand to oversee and arbitrate, the two directors were not endowed with full powers. They had, perforce, to refer to their fellow directors in London before a decision could be made on a General taking certain officers out with him to India.[91] The scale of military movements to the East and the attendant risks are best illustrated by the foregoing table 4.

While Company directors were sent to Portsmouth as occasion demanded, a permanent eye was kept on Company affairs in the port by a local agent. This arrangement was part of a complex organisation that also involved the stationing of similar individuals at Deal, Plymouth, Gravesend and, occasionally, at Appledore in Devon. Twice during the 1680s the Company sanctioned payments in excess of £1,000 to Richard Norton of Southwick,[92] though there is, as yet, no definite proof that he was the agent. For more than ten years before 1705 the Company agent at Portsmouth was Yard Storekeeper William Cooper who, in August 1695, was ordered to receive £60 'disburst for the Companyes Service'. That October the Company wrote ordering him to ascertain

> whether there be any Prize Boats in their Port, from Sixty to one hundred Tons Burden, that Sails well, and may be had on reasonable termes, and to Send a particular account thereof unto the Company, and in what time Such Ship may be Set out at Sea.[93]

For over half of the eighteenth century the Company agency was in the hands of a father and son team, George Huish (sen.) and (jun.), who also served as Town Clerks and Coroners. The elder was agent from at least 1731 onwards, while the younger served between 1746 and his death in 1788. Both men wrote copiously to the Company and discharged their duties conscientiously. The younger's obituary recorded that he had been 'factor to the East India Company at that port, a master-extraordinary in Chancery, and consul for Holland'. What the notice failed to mention, however, was that he had also been agent for the Dutch East India Company in Portsmouth.[94] His successor was Andrew Lindegren(jun.) a Portsmouth merchant who, by 1815, had also become a partner in a local banking concern.[95] Like his predecessors, Lindegren bombarded the Company with letters while carrying out his duties in a zealous, efficient manner. Due recognition of this fact was made clear in a Company resolution of 23 February 1796:

> That the Balance due to Mr Andrew Lindegren at Portsmouth, on his Account Current for the two past Years, amounting to £668 18*s*. 6*d*. be paid, and that in consideration of the great increase of the Company's business Mr Lindegren be allowed £400 as a Gratuity for the last two Years, making together the sum of £1068 18*s*. 6*d*.[96]

Here was high praise indeed, as well as obvious recognition of a job well done. Clearly, therefore, the great contemporary trading ventures, especially the East India Company, had more than a passing influence upon Portsmouth.

Table 5

Coastal shipping tonnage in Hampshire Ports 1709–1751

	Cowes	*Lymington*
1709	174	676
1716	186	461
1723	450	676
1730	511	461
1737	524	857
1744	676	823
1751	709	1,086
	Portsmouth	*Southampton*
1709	720	805
1716	720	805
1723	720	805
1730	720	805
1737	837	1,005
1744	1,101	960
1751	1,179	1,145

Source: Willan, *op cit.*, pp. 220–1.

What of the volume and value of such seaborne trade to Portsmouth? For the present only tentative outlines can be drawn in, though it is quite clear that growth was a distinguishing feature. For all its maritime activity, Portsmouth was not a substantial commercial port at the beginning of the period under review. For customs administration purposes it was counted as an outport of Southampton and an official report of July 1676, presented to Charles II, gives a poor impression:

> Very few or no merchants live there, and the trade . . . is very inconsiderable. By a certificate from our collector there, it appears that there are but 11 ships belonging to Portsmouth, the biggest one of 70 tons, one of 50 and the rest but of 30 and under.[97]

Larger vessels came to use the harbour's commercial facilities, as a copy of the *London Gazette* made plain in late June 1704, when it made reference to

> Robert Nevill, Master of the Fortune Ketch (of about 80 Tuns Burden) being lately deceased; And the said Vessel being now in Portsmouth Harbour, . . .[98]

The overall growth in Portsmouth's coastal shipping tonnage and developments in neighbouring ports are set out in Table 5. While growth was evident in the other ports as well, it was on nowhere near so impressive a scale as at Portsmouth.

Growth was reflected in other ways. Customs revenue on goods shipped through Portsmouth revealed an increase. In 1710 this amounted to approximately £3,900. Half a century later the figure was approximately £11,600. In 1800, imports into Portsmouth netted £79,000.[99] Certain items were important amongst those shipped into Portsmouth especially coal, sugar and tobacco. Nearly 6,000lbs of tobacco came in during one year alone – Christmas 1678 to Christmas 1679.[100] As a further reflection of growth there is the fact that many contemporaries were impressed by what they saw. In January 1729 Captain Stephen Martin-Leake could write of viewing:

> a spacious harbour, and the great ships lying at their moorings for three or four miles up, and the harbour for a mile at least on each side covered with buildings and thronged with people; the water covered with boats passing and repassing like as on the Thames, ... The prospect from the middle of the harbour gives you the idea of a great city; . . .[101]

Thomas Cox observed in the following year that despite the fact that Portsmouth 'lies low, and so the Air is neither wholesome, not Streets cleanly', the town was nevertheless one 'of great Trade'.[102] Seen from Portsdown Hill, the harbour with its shipping formed an impressive sight, as the Reverend William Gilpin noted in 1774:

> The harbour of Portsmouth, which would contain all the shipping in Europe, was the grand feature in this view. Besides innumerable skiffs and smaller vessels plying about this ample bason, we counted between fifty and sixty sail of the line.[103]

Such was the growth that four decades later another clergyman, the Reverend John Skinner, could write enthusiastically of the spin-off development of Ryde which he noted was:

> much increased within these seven years, many excellent houses being built for the accommodation of the company coming here for the purpose of bathing: also for the passengers of the East and West India fleets which may be detained by the wind.[104]

Two groups of officials kept a watchful eye on the commodities entering and leaving Portsmouth – customs officials, of whom mention has been made already, and certain Corporation officials. The Harbour Master, appointed under the Mayor's seal, was responsible for merchant vessels in the port, the navy employing its own similar official. The civil officer's task was to collect the harbour dues of groundage, anchorage and bushelage. Precise arrangements for vessels at the Town Quay were handled by another official, the Wharfinger, who was also to take cognizance of all goods loaded and unloaded. He was also responsible for collecting wharfage dues owed to the Corporation.[105] Nominally paid for goods landed or shipped on any part of the borough soil, such payments were reviewed and revised in 1650, 1680, 1768, 1771 and 1800, and the right to collect them let out for seven years at a time.[106] The extant accounts of Wharfinger Timothy Pike for 1771–8 show him paying for repairs to quays, for a crane, rope and slings in May 1772, and handling correspondence concerning lighthouse construction off the Normandy Coast.[107] The Corporation also derived income from leasing out wharves, as they did in March 1657 to Thomas Beeston.[108] In more than a passing fashion, therefore, the growth of Portsmouth's seaborne trade was of considerable financial importance to the town.

Three further elements help to complete the picture of the town's thriving seaborne trade. To date there has been but scant realisation of how extensively money and silver figured in Portsmouth's maritime activity. The role of the fishing industry and the extent to which shipbuilding was taking place locally for commercial purposes have also been overlooked completely.

Coinage and unminted silver figured prominently as commodities in Portsmouth's seaborne trade between 1650 and 1800. Late in August 1731 money was sent to Portsmouth and Plymouth to reduce and pay off eleven men-of-war. In mid-July 1750 Commissioner Richard Hughes was directed by the Admiralty to order his yacht 'to receive on board the Money intended for paying Plymouth Yard'.[109] During the eighteenth century ships sometimes returned to Portsmouth carrying quantities of coins and precious metals acquired as spoils of war. Such arrivals included the *Rippon* returning from Havana in March 1763 with enough money on board to fill five wagons, or the two Liverpool privateers which arrived at the Mother Bank in October 1778 with a homeward-bound

A page from the accounts of Wharfinger Timothy Pike for 1773. A brewer, Pike held the office for seven years, was also Chamberlain of Portsmouth 1736–78, and died in 1798.
Portsmouth City Records Office.

French East Indiaman said to be valued at £500,000. The figure was explained by the fact that she was carrying not only her own cargo but also that of another Indiaman that had been wrecked. The *Centurion* which arrived in Portsmouth in 1744 after Anson's successful circumnavigation, brought home the biggest single haul ever by a naval commander. Bars of gold, pieces of eight, plate and silver, together worth £1,250,000 and sufficient to fill thirty-two wagons were offloaded and marched ceremonially all the way to London under military escort and there lodged in the safety of the Bank of England.[110]

What is less well known in the annals of Portsmouth's economic history is the extent to which the town was used as a despatch point for silver supplies destined for India, supervision for the loading of such items being effected by the East India Company's local agent. There was considerable activity of this nature during the mid-1740s. In April 1746, for example, twenty-five chests of silver were put on board the *Salisbury* and thirty-five on board the *Britannia* at Spithead. The overall amounts sent out were certainly impressive:

Table 6

Silver shipments from Portsmouth to India 1746–7

Date	*Ship*	*Consignment (Chests)*
3 April 1746	*Salisbury*	25
29 April 1746	*Britannia*	35
8 July 1746	*Bombay Castle*	40
7 November 1746	*Lapwing*	50
16 January 1747	*Eastcourt*	50
16 January 1747	*Caesar*	50
18 February 1747	*Oxford*	30
18 February 1747	*Colchester*	35
18 February 1747	*Benjamin*	20
18 February 1747	*Wincheslsea*	34

Source: *Despatches from England to Fort St George 1744–7* (2 vols. in 1, 1931), passim.

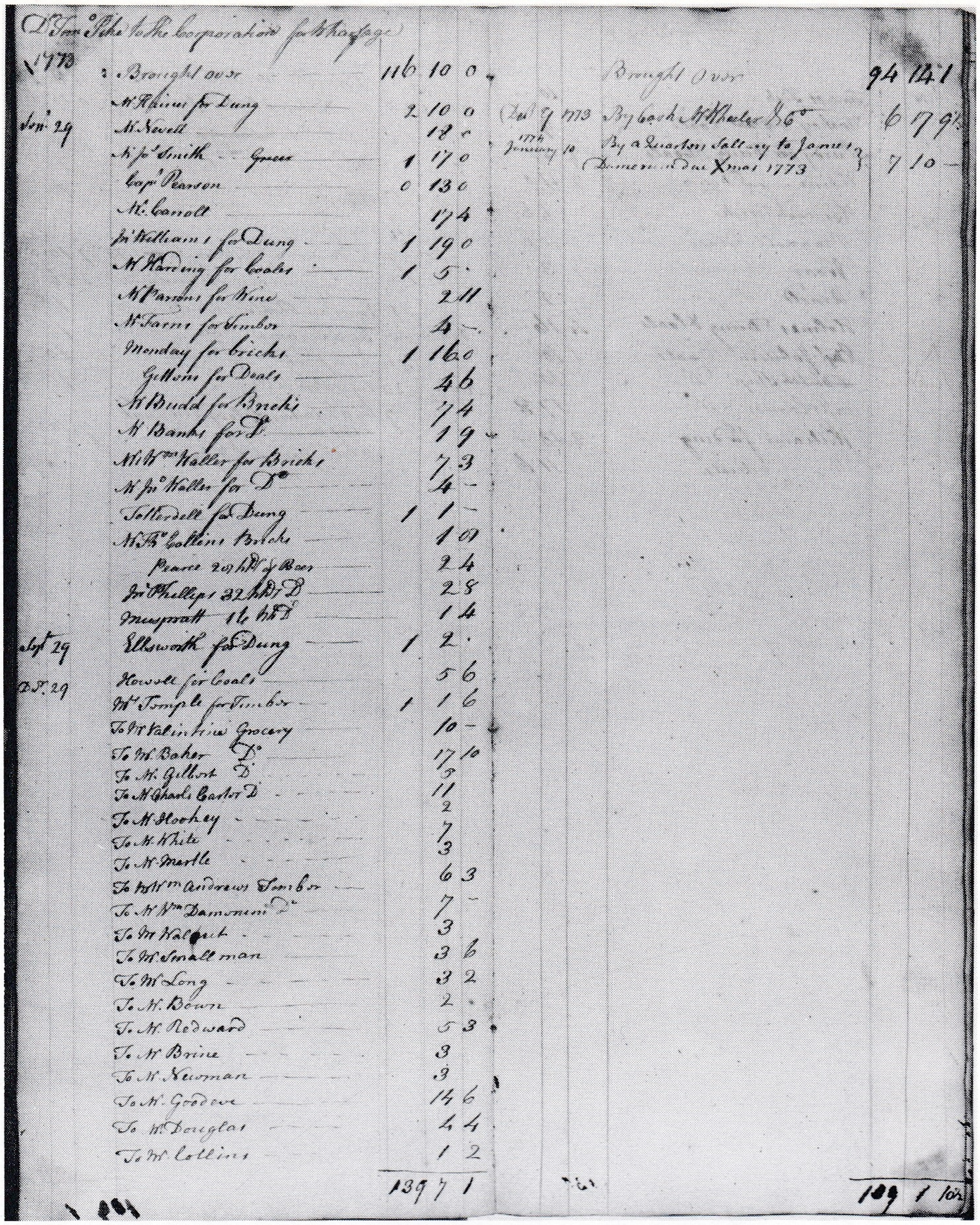
The silver supplies were being shipped out for at least three different purposes – for the use of the diamond merchants in India, for direct use by the East India Company, and for the various Company mints operating in the subcontinent.

In a similar vein all too little attention has been paid to the role and importance of the fishing industry in the context of Portsmouth's development. Between 1650 and 1800 fishing was highly important to the thriving port. An indirect indication of its early eighteenth century significance may be found in a Corporation instruction to local constables in January 1719, ordering them to '. . . seize and take into your Custody for the Poore of the Parish' certain types and sizes of fish if found 'on Shoar within the said Burrough or the Liberties thereof'. The instructions related to turbot, brill, codling, whiting, bass, mullett, sole, plaice, dab and flounder.[111] The town's fishing links were extensive geographically, with cod being shipped in from Newfoundland, as the following advertisement made plain:

> For the Benefit of all Lovers of good Fish, there is very large, very new and white, Newfoundland Prize Bank Cod Fish (equal to the choicest North-Sea Cod) weighing 14 or 15 lib. the Couple, one with the other, to be Sold at 12d. the Couple by Mr Sam. Bucknall at the Victualling-Office in Portsmouth.[112]

Fish supplies were to be had locally as well. The mackerel abounding off Hayling Island were considered to be 'the most delicate on the English coasts', the waters around the island also teeming with bass, mullett, turbot, sole, whiting, eels, and many other kinds of fish.[113] In September 1725 Emsworth fisherman Jacob Bethell contracted to sell to a Gosport mariner 48lbs of bass and mullett at 4*d*. per pound. On 16 November 1743 William Holden, a fellow Emsworth fisherman, assaulted Mary Cook, throwing her basket of but recently purchased herrings into Portsmouth harbour. Supplies came from further afield as well. In June 1721 bass and mullett were sold by a Fawley spinster for the local fish market.[114] Fishing vessels arrived from Hastings and Brixham, though not always with good fortune. Early in September 1798 two Brixham fishermen, Richard Apter and Joseph Veal, complained of the theft of a basket containing 25 pairs of soles from their vessel.[115]

Fish was sold in the public market place in the High Street. In the mid-eighteenth century a series of stone cooling slabs was used for sale purposes. Much contemporary concern was expressed about the storage and disposal of unsold fish. In September 1703 Richard Maddox was indicted for throwing from his ship on the east side of the Point 'several quantities of rubbish and rotten fish'. In July 1744 Portsmouth residents complained of the storage of stinking, rotten salt fish.[116] Trade in shellfish was also considerable, local supplies being readily available. Oyster beds off the Isle of Wight provided nurseries for the Colchester industry, while nearer home there were notable supplies to be had at Emsworth.[117] Shellfish could be purchased at several locations in Portsmouth in the early years of the eighteenth century. George Edghill explained



to Portsmouth justices in February 1701 that he 'gott his liveing by carryeing of Oysters and Fish from place to place in the County of South[amp]ton and elsewhere'. Itinerant sellers of fruit and oysters could be found roaming Portsmouth's streets, while it was also possible to purchase both lobsters and crabs in the High Street market.[118] As ever there were health and security problems, explaining the complaint by a late seventeenth century Portsmouth mariner that a Mr Belbin had exposed to sale lobsters which 'Stunk and were not fitting to be sold'. Thomas Price, purveyor of crabs and lobsters, told in late August 1745 of the theft of about 40lbs of live crabs from him some short while before.[119]

During the late eighteenth century there was a concerted but relatively short-lived attempt to breathe extra life into the local fishing industry with the formation and promotion of the Portsmouth and Portsea Fishery.[120] At an initial meeting in the Town Hall on 3 June 1796 the Mayor, John Godwin, chaired a discussion on means of establishing a fishery to supply the two growing urban units. More than eighty substantial citizens subscribed to the enterprise (see Appendix), and at first everything seemed set for success. The administrative panoply of committee, treasurer, secretary, solicitor and bankers having been appointed, the new venture was launched. The guiding force and architect of such success as the venture enjoyed was the secretary, Thomas Croxton, who worked tirelessly. Within a few days of operations beginning it was agreed that two vessels of suitable tonnage were needed 'to be immediately employed for to fish at Torbay', while two smaller craft were needed to fish occasionally in Portsmouth harbour, at Spithead and other 'Neighbouring Harbours and Places'. Rewards were offered for information on new potential fishing areas near the Isle of Wight.

A Perspective View of Portsmouth & Gosport; *from St Helens; Shewing the With an off scape of the Sea, and all the Creeks and Points Leading into the Humbly Dedicated, To Her Most Serene, and Sacred Majesty* ANNE

Sold by Thomas Taylor at ye Golden Lyon next ye Horse Tavern in Fleet street London.

'Perspective View of Portsmouth and Gosport c. 1705' by J. Lightbody. The engraving shows the dockyard, Point, salt-workings, a variety of shipping and the growing communities of Cowes and Ryde. Portsmouth City Museum.

22. The Fishmarket and "The Quebec"—a fashionable hotel in the 18th century.

Two Brixham fishing vessel masters, Thomas Vivoin and John Pater, were hired, though their services were dispensed with subsequently. Decisions were made on retailing the catch, on the erection of temporary sale facilities, and on the fact that a bell and horn would be sounded in Portsmouth and Portsea respectively to notify the arrival of a cargo of fish for sale. Decent fishing nets and other requisite equipment were sought out, while Croxton was despatched to the West Country with a roving commission on the Company's behalf. By mid-July 1796 agreement had been reached on the purchase of a number of vessels from Dartmouth, Plymouth and London. By late August instructions had been issued for the conversion of a well-boat for fishing purposes, the craft also to be furnished with 'Dredges for Oyster-dredging'. By early December, however, the Company had encountered some difficulties and was preparing to shed some of its control. Advertisements were inserted in the *Portsmouth Gazette* and *Salisbury Journal* 'to receive Tenders for the Management of the Whole of the Vessels belonging to the Company, and conducting the Fishery'. The real turning point in the venture's fortunes came in early 1797, and by late February it has been decided to sell off the concern's six vessels. All the subscribers received was a final dividend of just £6 9*s*. $5\frac{3}{4}d$. each.

The Company had come to a sad, and somewhat abrupt end. Quite why the venture failed is, as yet, unclear. The substantial number of vessels purchased and the limited number of subscribers involved may well hold part of the answer. It is significant, for example, that only one new subscriber was attracted to the project while it was in being. And yet, the calibre, acumen and local standing of many of the subscribers should, in theory at least, have attracted others to make a similar investment. Croxton worked frenetically on the venture's behalf, as a testimonial by the subscribers to county MPs, Sir William Heathcote and William Chute, bore witness. Financial malpractice does not seem in evidence, though knowledge of the development of local banking is still a major gap in the story of Portsmouth's development. Furthermore, it may well be more than sheer coincidence that a much earlier venture in promoting the country's potential, advocated in 1581, included the launching of a fishing association based on nearby Southampton.[121]

While Portsmouth had links with fishing and the shellfish industry, there were also connections with whaling. During the period under scrutiny whale oil was especially useful both as a lubricant and a fuel for lamps. As a result, great quantities were needed by the navy, and enterprising East Cowes merchant Benjamin Newland contracted to supply it to Portsmouth in the 1670s.[122] During the years after 1750, however, the whalers of Greenland found it increasingly difficult to meet the growing demands for oil. As a result attention switched to the southern sea, a change spurred on, in great part, by Captain James Cook's discoveries. Such a change brought further problems, including that of negotiating permission from the East India Company to sail south. Most anxious to keep whalers, real or pretended, away from the coasts of India, China and Malaya, the Company fought a fierce rearguard action against the whaling interests. There was also growing American competition, the lead being taken by the famous whalers of Nantucket, Massachusetts.[123] Those whalers granted permission by the East India Company to sail south, vessels such as the *Lydia*, the *Atlantic* and the *Pomond*,[124] made their way to their distant goals in the 1790s, passing Portsmouth *en route*. Once in a while, however, they did more than simply pass by. In mid-September 1813, for example, a whaler arrived off the Mother Bank. The *Annual Register* takes up the story:

> A whale of enormous size was towed alongside of a South Sea whaler, lying at the Mother-bank, Portsmouth, where it was cut up in the usual manner for obtaining the largest quantity of oil. This fish was observed on the preceding Friday, following a shoal of small fish through the Needles passage, where it soon found itself on a shingle bank, with the tide ebbing; and, consequently, notwithstanding the most violent exertions to gett off, remained an easy

A Martin Snape drawing showing the fish market after its removal from the High Street to the Point. Portsmouth City Records Office.

prize to several fishermen. The supposed value is £500. A similar occurrence never happened before within the Isle of Wight,[125]

Given both naval and domestic demands for whale oil, it becomes increasingly apparent that whaling, or at least its products, must have been of more than passing importance to the community of Portsmouth.

In the story of local maritime development, little attention has been paid to shipbuilding for commercial purposes. Many of the nearby Hampshire coastal communities enjoyed the services of shipwrights, some working to fill order books for the armed forces and some building for commercial concerns. At Southampton, Bursledon, Newport, Isle of Wight, where Mr Read built a sloop for Ordnance Office use in 1741, at Hythe and at Redbridge there was much shipbuilding expertise. At Gosport John Darley, an experienced shipwright, provided a new sloop in 1745. He also built the *Tavistock* and *Kingfisher* for the Navy Board, subsequently took over the yard at Buckler's Hard, and eventually went bankrupt in 1748.[126] Merchant vessels built at Portsmouth were to include the 525 ton *Garland*, constructed in 1778. A two decker, three-masted vessel, she proudly bore a fine lion figurehead and was to be registered at Liverpool.[127] East Indiamen, the heavily armed merchant vessels especially developed for voyages to Asia were built, in the main, at Castle's Yard, Deptford, and at Johnson's Yard, Blackwall. Important though such yards were they nevertheless did not monopolise the construction of such craft entirely. Bursledon and Buckler's Hard both built East Indiamen and smaller merchant craft in the 1780s and 1790s. In mid-November 1795, for example, the East India Company purchased vessels of 470 tons from Messrs St Barbe, Green and Bignell 'now building at Buckler's Hard'. The same consortium offered to build nearly 6,000 tons' worth of craft for the Company, an offer, in the event, that was not to be taken up.[128] A Gosport yard, possibly Darley's, is known to have built at least one East Indiaman in the 1740s. Timber was brought in from as far away as Egham, Surrey; about fifty men were employed including sawyers from Mile End and other Portsea Island communities.[129]

Merchantman encountering difficulties as a result of storm damage or from enemy action could put in at Portsmouth and avail themselves of the repair facilities provided by the port. Instances of such action abound during the years between 1650 and 1800. In November 1668 there arrived at Spithead 'the *Edgar*, a new ship, built at Bristol, having by extraordinary ill weather, sprung her mainmast. In the following month it was reported from Portsmouth that a vessel 'belonging to North-Yarmouth laden with Herrings, and outwards bound, having accidentally sprang a Leak, was forced to put in here to refit; . . .'. The Great Storm of November 1703 did considerable damage to Portsmouth shipping, occasioning a local correspondent to report 'We have in sight 6 or 7 Wrecks, 4 or 5 of them to the Eastward of South-sea Castle, and two upon Gilkeker Point.'[130] On at least one occasion, in January 1712, a Swedish ship was repaired in Portsmouth at Crown expense. In July 1761 arrangements were made for a Batavia-bound Dutch East Indiaman 'having lost her helm and sustained other damage off the cost of Flanders' to put into Portsmouth and undergo repairs. A magazine report of 1768 provides some insight into what was involved when a ship needed repair:

> 1 May: A large French ship, having met with bad weather, put into Portsmouth to refit; and an officer in the dock-yard, two master rope-makers, and several other persons, having gone on board to offer their assistance, were all obliged to continue on board to perform quarantine, the ship having been found to come from an infected place. She has since been discharged, and the people released.[131]

While mention has been made already of mail going to India *via* Portsmouth during this period, it is important to remember that mails were being despatched elsewhere through the port. Thus a local postal historian has commented 'Portsmouth was a busy port for handling mail coming into or going out of the Country, . . .'. Packet ships left for Havre de Grace in France, Ryde and Cowes in the Isle of Wight, and for Lymington, and they could well have been carrying mail also. So, too, could the unclassified vessel which sailed weekly to Guernsey from the 'True Blue on the Point'.[132] Packets also went to the West Indies. Between 1702 and 1711 Edmund Dummer's packet service operated to St Kitts, Barbados, Nevis, Antigua, Montserrat and Jamaica, making a total of 53 round voyages. Carrying five tons of cargo, a few passengers and a crew of eighteen, the packets constituted the main non-naval link with the West Indies during the crucial period of the War of the Spanish Succession.[133] The sailing of what turned out to be the last of Dummer's packets the *Martlett*, was advertised in the *London Gazette* early in July 1711:

> The Martlett Packet-Boat now at Portsmouth, being the next Vessel to proceed to the West-Indies, this is to give Notice, that the said Vessel will be ready to sail with all Letters and Packets which shall be taken in at the General Post Office between this and Saturday the 14th Instant, and to the Orders which shall that Day be given for her sailing accordingly.

After that the service was terminated, and not until 1755 did the Government decide to operate its own packet service.[134]

And what of the men who engaged in Portsmouth's dynamic and extensive seaborne commerce? While not enough is yet known about them, they may nevertheless be usefully considered both as a group and as individuals. As a group they appear to have formed part of a complex power nexus that existed in seventeenth and eighteenth century Portsmouth. Many were related by inter-marriage, a social and economic arrangement that explains the disposition of much of the power wielded in the town during the period 1650–1800. Many invested in the leading commercial ventures of the day, even if their investments were not always of enormous proportions. By the same token, they enjoyed substantial lifestyles with more than a modicum of comfort. They also participated substantially in the unreformed world of local government. While a full statistical analysis of the Aldermanic bench for 1650–1800 needs much further research, some features are already emerging. During the years 1731–52 roughly 65 per cent of Portsmouth's Aldermanic bench was related by blood, marriage or both.[135] This high figure included several of the town's leading merchants, men such as Thomas Missing who rose from being a baker in 1701 to die as a great merchant prince and contractor in 1733.[136] He was father-in-law to William Rickman, merchant brewer, and fawning inveterate contract seeker. James Deacon, wine merchant, bequeathed a substantial part of his estate to his son William, fellow merchant and brewer. There was John Vining, merchant, joiner and contractor, whose grandson John Vining Heron married the daughter of fellow Alderman John Leeke, the Derbyshire-born goldsmith. The investments of two of these merchants are known to a certain extent. James Deacon had an unspecified 'interest in ships' at his death in January 1749. Vining had money in South Sea Company stock and annuities, in Bank of England Stock, Navy Board and Victualling Board bills and in Ordnance Board debentures. Merchant lifestyles were marked by a judicious combination of wealth and comfort. Thus merchant James Deacon owned property at Inlands and Findon in Sussex, farm lands at Emsworth and at Whitwell in the Isle of Wight, twenty acres in Portsea's common fields and two Portsmouth hostelries, the *Blue Anchor* at Kingston and the *Three Tuns Tavern* in the High Street where his principal private residence also stood. Vining bequeathed to his wife the use of household goods, plate, linen, a gold watch which was to go subsequently to his grand-daughter, jewelry, diamond rings and other diamonds. These, furthermore, formed only part of his impressive and substantial affluence. Some Portsmouth merchants invested in other forms of shipping. During the war of 1689–97, for example, merchant Edward Harman was part owner of the *Resolution Sloop*, a privateer. Thomas Ridge, Thomas Missing and Thomas Blakeley invested in the *Ambuscade*, a London privateer that scored some notable Mediterranean successes during the War of the Spanish Succession.[137]

A small 'gallery' of individual merchants can be assembled to shed further light on their activities, success and fortunes. There was, for example, Samuel Williams, possibly the typical Restoration Portsmouth merchant. With an interest in the wine trade in the early 1660s Williams, an Alderman and JP, was Mayor in 1666–7 and again in 1676–7. In November 1685 he was described quite simply as 'gentleman'.[138] From the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, there are several local merchants of note. Merchant and joiner Cornelius Colliss invested in South Sea Company annuities, governmental and private securities. Probably twice married, he was admitted an Alderman in March 1733 and was Mayor during 1735–6. That he acted as translator for certain Scandinavian ships at Portsmouth may well explain the presence of a 'large Swedish medal' amongst his personal possessions at the time of his death. He certainly took a wide and keen interest in maritime matters. In October 1706, for example, he supplied depositions about Portsmouth shipping as well as keeping a London merchant partnership, Abraham and Jacob Henckell, informed about the sailing of the Lisbon fleet.[139]

Sir Josiah Child (1630–99). Mayor of Portsmouth 1658–59; MP for Petersfield 1659. He was a Director of the East India Company from 1677 onwards, Deputy Governor of the Company 1688–90 and Governor in 1681–3 and 1686–88. British Library.

A contemporary of Colliss was John Gawler, who had commercial links with London in the mid-1690s and whose business activities in the early eighteenth century included the supplying of money. Thus in January 1717 he petitioned the Prince of Wales for repayment of money supplied to a detachment of marines, and for a further £158 15*s*. supplied to Portsmouth garrison.[140] Both men would have known and possibly worked with Ely Stanyford, merchant and customs official. Forty years of age in 1714, he served as churchwarden of St Thomas's in 1710. He had at least two sons, and used some of his wealth to finance the education of one of them at the Middle Temple in 1720.[141]

For the late eighteenth century there were intriguing individuals such as Andrew Lindegren (sen.), an expatriate Swedish iron ore merchant who lived in Broad Street until his death in September 1783.[142] By way of contrast there was Michael Henley (*c*. 1742–1813) a coal and rope merchant who, with his son Joseph, had substantial interests in the town even though they did not reside there.[143] There was also what might be termed one 'fringe' character in this collection of vignettes, but a man who nevertheless was to become a real power in the land. It is frequently forgotten that Sir Josiah Child, the great merchant entrepreneur and Governor of the East India Company, acquired much of his early business and administrative experience in Portsmouth. From 1654 onwards he was serving as victualler and deputy naval treasurer in the town, while in 1658 he was also Mayor. It was only after the death of his local born wife, Hannah, née Boate, in spring 1661 that Child was to return to London.[144] There he was to go from strength to strength setting himself up in style in Essex and owning in 1691 some £51,150 stock in the East India Company.[145]

While the sinews of the business world and, in some instances, marital alignments and commitments kept many in the merchant community together, their inherent collective strength was enhanced by their use of local coffee houses as venues in which to transact business. By late November 1715 Portsmouth enjoyed the services of at least five such establishments. Robert Pyle was the owner of one in Oyster Street, while Nathaniel Shepard ran the *Rainbow* and John Spencer *The London*. A fourth coffee house was operated by John Beck, and a fifth, which soon became known as *Cloaks*, by Joanna Cloake.[146] Copies of the *London Gazette* were available for merchants, tradesmen and other interested parties anxious to keep abreast of both shipping movements and the latest business developments. In October 1689 Anthony Stratton told how he 'went to Mr Harfords shopp to read the news, and some Body was reading the gazet'.[147] The two coffee houses most frequently in the news were *Cloaks* and the *Rainbow*. The former was used for the sale of prize vessels, as the following advertisement of March 1710 makes very evident:

> To be Sold by the Agent for the Captors by Auction, to the highest Bidder, on Monday next, being the 3d April next, at Cloak's Coffee-house, on the Point at Portsmouth, at 3 in the Afternoon, the Tyger Galley, of 20 Guns, with about 180 Tuns of Rochel Salt, the African Galley, 22 Guns, with her Cargo, of about 250 Tuns of Salt; the Nostra Dame de Lumber, with her Lading of Salt, about 100 Tuns; and the Union with her lading of Salt, about 120 Tuns: All taken by her Majesty's Ships the Dragon, Capt. Martin Commander, the Guernsey, Sea Horse, Delight and Rose-Pink. Inventories to be had at the Place of Sale, at Lloyd's Coffee-house in Lombard Street, London, and at the House of Mr Samuel Eyre in Botolph Lane, London, and at Mr Dixon's House in Portsmouth.[148]

On at least two occasions, the *Rainbow* was the venue for bankruptcy hearings. During September and October 1710, for instance, commissioners sat on four occasions in the case of Edward Ranstead, a local innholder who had failed in business. Four years later it was the turn of Joseph Whitehorne, a local ironmonger, to submit himself to the same process, again at the *Rainbow*.[149] Such business was not confined wholly to the coffee houses, however. The *Isle of Wight Hoy*, a hostelry on the Point, was used for such activities while the Town Hall was used on at least two occasions for ship sales in the early eighteenth century. In March 1705 Prize Commissioners sold off the remnants of the *Neptune's* cargo, the commodities offered for sale including wine, claret, stum, snuff, cocoa and silk. In June 1709 a prize vessel, the *Margaret* of Youghall, with the remaining part of her cargo 'consisting of Claret and Allmadoes' was put up for sale.[150] Even so, it was the coffee houses that held sway as business venues, following the obvious social and financial lead set by such famed London establishments as *Jonathans, Garraways* and *Lloyds*. Over coffee and amid prodigious pipe smoke, the merchants would exchange information, seek new contacts, honour signed contracts and bonds. Occasionally, however, friction and differences would erupt as local merchant James Harman explained to justices in April 1714. He told how at the *Rainbow* coffee house on the previous evening fellow Portsmouth merchant John Thomeur assaulted him with a chair, bruising him seriously in the process. Thomeur also drew his sword upon him, wounding him beneath the left arm. In the following decade Stephen Martin-Leake was intrigued to learn that some of the *clientèle* of Piles' coffee house had formed an

early morning club. Meeting between the hours of 4 and 5 a.m. the membership consisted, he wrote, 'of some of the most sensible men in the place'. They spent an hour together 'drinking coffee, reading the news, and talking politics' before each went his separate way.[151]

To conclude, the seaborne trade of Portsmouth between the 1650 and 1800 was considerable and, furthermore, was growing in terms of both value and volume. Indications of its extent and importance were evident to contemporaries. Portsmouth residents in the eighteenth century had only to walk the streets and look at the names of some of the town's many hostelries to realise this fact. In the early eighteenth century they would see the *Isle of Wight Hoy*, kept by Tobye Dreake, the *Fishing Hoy* run by Elizabeth Cole, the *Plymouth Arms* run by John Wefful, and the *Southampton Hoy* kept by Robert Treadgal. Such establishments in the later years of the eighteenth century included the *North Country Pink*, the *Guernsey*, the *Plymouth Trader*, the *West India Tavern* and the *Southampton Hoy*. Similar evidence was to be found on the other side of the harbour at Gosport in establishments such as the *India Arms*, the *Newcastle upon Tyne*, the *Sunderland Pink* and the *Dutch pilot boat*.[152]

There was other evidence as well in the seemingly overwhelming presence of Europeans, Russians, North Africans of various hues, West India merchants and American planters who bore ample testimony to the town's trading connections. Indeed, there must have been times when it would have been impossible to hear English actually being spoken. Furthermore, the hustle and bustle would have been heightened in its effect by the concentration of much activity within the confines of the town's walls. Local residents would also have realised something of the nature and extent of Portsmouth's seaborne trade from the many foreign coins that turned up in their loose change. It would also explain why Edward Martin, master of the *Content* pink, complained in October 1718 of the theft of between £40 and £50 'in foreigne coine' from a chest on board his vessel. It becomes easier to understand why in April 1788 James Hunt tried to foist onto Portsmouth silversmith William Reid thirty-eight counterfeit pagodas, described in the Recorder's notes on the case as 'an East India gold coin'.[153] The range of goods available in Portsmouth also reflected the town's trading links. Thus in March 1704 Anthony Manry complained that sugar, spice and other commodities had been stolen from his Portsmouth warehouse. Later that same year James Goodeve told of the theft from his Gosport garden of approximately 100 layers of Dutch carnations and the same number of ricolasses.[154] Substantial amounts of glassware were also available for sale. Given the marked dearth of local units of production, such material must have been shipped into Portsmouth.[155] In October 1706 Catherine Baker was prosecuted for hawking mint glasses and drinking glasses without a licence. When, in July 1764, Samuel Evans, purser of HMS *Pembroke*, went on the rampage and assaulted a local widow, he also destroyed eleven glass decanters, forty-two wine glasses and other glassware, clearly her stock in trade. Four Delft bowls were also broken on that occasion.[156] While a sign of affluence, they were, of course, a reflection of trading links with the United Provinces. As further evidence of the prosperity derived from trade, there were many watchmakers and goldsmiths in the town. These included men such as goldsmith Stephen Worlidge, brother of the great agricultural theorist. Resident in Portsmouth from 1672, Stephen Worlidge cast an elaborate gold model of a revolutionary twin-hulled ship used subsequently in an unsuccessful attempt to secure his brother's election to a Fellowship of the Royal Society in 1685.[157] Or there was Evan Evans who complained of the theft from his shop of nearly four dozen gold rings in November 1748.[158] Wherever Portsmouth residents went in the town, they would see abundant evidence of the trading connections.

The overall effects for Portsmouth of commercial links by sea were substantial. The number and type of goods and services available increased. Likewise there took place a considerable injection of cash into both the customs revenue and the local economy. Employment opportunities, subjected to alternating booms and slumps according to whether England was at war or at peace, would also have increased. The local record of lawlessness, disorder and illegitimacy would also have risen, though by just how much, is as yet unclear. There are still, however, some lacunae in the account of Portsmouth's seaborne trade. Greater detail is required of the town's merchant community during the century and a half after 1650. Interrelationships, business methods, links with London and with local government, sketched in during the course of this paper, need to be scrutinised rigorously. The role of the town's inns during the period also needs to be considered afresh. Did inns such as the *Three Tuns* on the Point, which boasted storehouses, a wharf and crane in 1694,[159] stand a better chance of success than those located in the High Street? The pattern of overland trade from Portsmouth also merits examination. Did this complement the seaborne trade, or was it influenced by it substantially? More research is needed into the activities of the Hudson's Bay,[160] Levant and Royal African Companies in Portsmouth. Similarly, did the great foreign trading concerns have a role to play in the town? It is known, for example, that the Dutch East India Company traded in Portsmouth and retained an agent, who doubled as an official consul for the Dutch government in the eighteenth century. Did

the French East India Company and its Scandinavian counterparts have any links with, or influence in, Portsmouth? At the very least, it should now be apparent that the development of Portsmouth since 1650 is not only attributable to a substantial naval presence.

APPENDIX

Subscribers to the Portsmouth and Portsea Fishery, 1796

Nathanial Allin	Mercer & linen draper
William Andrews & Son	Builders
Elias Arnaud	Clerk, Custom-house
Elias Bruce Arnaud	Collector, Custom-house
Anthony Atcheson	Coal Merchant
John Atkins	Liquor Merchant
William Baker (jun.)	Grocer
Thomas Bartlett	Brazier
John Binsted	Builder
Joseph Bradley (sen.)	Innkeeper, *Crown*
Edward Brine (jun.)	Brazier
James and W. Buckland	Druggists
Richard Burbey	Grocer
William Burridge	Merchant
Roger Callaway	Solicitor
Sir John Carter	Alderman
William Carter	Alderman
Churcher ?	Innkeeper
William Clark	Carrier
Robert Palliser Cooper	Admiral, RN
John Cousens	Merchant
John Crosby	Clerk, Dockyard
Thomas Croxton	Gentleman
Major-General Cornelius Cuyler	Lieutenant-Governor of Garrison
Joseph Davies	Clerk of the Cheque, Dockyard
James Deacon	Gentlemen
William Deacon	Brewer & Merchant
John Diaper	Grocer
William Donaldson	Printer
Sir Andrew Snape Douglas, Bt.	Captain, RN
John Drew	Esquire, Chichester
William Friend	Butcher
Daniel Garrett	Brewer?
George Garrett	Brewer?
William Garrett	Brewer?
George Gayton	Admiral, RN
William Gilbert	Storekeeper, Dockyard
John Godwin	Mayor
James Goodeve (sen.)	Grocer
James Goodeve (jun.)	Mercer
William Grant	Grocer
Moses Greetham	Deputy Judge Advocate
Tudor Griffiths	Esquire, Bedhampton
James Grigg	Attorney
William Hammond	Mercer
James Hancock	Attorney at Law
William Harward	Mercer
Moses Hawker	Gentleman
John A. Hickley	Grocer
Samuel Hill	Surgeon
James Johnston	Commissioner, Sick & Hurt Office
Edward Kirkman	Mercer
William Lang	Tallow Chandler
John Lear	Sailmaker
Kempster Lipscomb (jun.)	Plumber
Andrew Lindegren	Merchant and agent
Joseph Marder	Wine Merchant
Francis Matthews	Clerk of the Cheque, Gun Wharf
William Mitchell	Cooper
James Money	Mercer
Aaron Moody	Esquire
James Charles Mottley	Tide Surveyor, Custom-house
Matthew Napper	Mercer
John North	Shoemaker
Thomas Palmer	Innkeeper
Sir Peter Parker, Bt.	Port Admiral
William Pearce (jun.)	Mercer
Thomas Perrin	Baker and corn-chandler
James Pinhorn	Mercer and linen-draper
Sir William August Pitt	Governor and Commander-in-Chief, Portsmouth
George Poore	Merchant
Thomas Pratt	Baker
William Reeks	Agent Victualler
Charles Robb	Master Attendant, Dockyard
George Robinson	Victualler
Samuel Salmon	Liquor Merchant
Cleveland Salter	Clock and Watch Maker
George Edward Sargeant	Slopseller
Sir Charles Saxton, Bt.	Dockyard Commissioner
Lord Hugh Seymour	Admiralty Lord and MP for Portsmouth
Thomas Sharp	Mercer
Joseph Smith	Liquor Merchant
John Snook	Baker

Edward Thorp	Clerk, Dockyard
Edward Tippet	Master Shipwright, Dockyard
William Turner	Grocer
Nicholas Vass	Master House Carpenter, Dockyard
Thomas Walcot	Mercer
James White	Tallow Chandler
Thomas White	Tallow Chandler
Thoms Whitewood (jun.)	Stationer
Samuel Wilson	Gentleman
Francis Woodman	Baker

Sources: P.C.R.O. CC7/56 *Proceedings of the Portsmouth and Portsea Fishery* (Portsmouth, 1798), pp. 8–11; *The Hampshire Repository*, I (1799), p. 128; *Universal British Directory of Trade, Commerce, and Manufacture*, IV (1798), passim; W. J. C. Moens (ed.), *Hampshire Allegations for Marriage Licences granted by the Bishop of Winchester 1689 to 1837* (2 vols. 1893), I, pp. 187, 213; P.C.R.O. Occupations Index; CE 6/2, Book of Original Entries 1751–1801, pp. 221, 254.

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4 J. Sadler, *The Hampshire Directory* (1784), p. 115; Willan, *op cit.*, pp. 158, 83 and n.

5 Sadler, *op cit.*, pp. 96, 114–5.

6 Of the 17,784 quarters of malt sent out from Southampton, 7,192 were shipped to Portsmouth: Willan, *op. cit.*, p. 83 and n.

7 P(ortsmouth) C(ity) R(ecords) O(ffice) CF13/1, Portsmouth Wharfage Accounts for 1799–1802.

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12 P(ublic) R(ecord) O(ffice) Admiralty Papers Adm.1/3290. I owe this reference to my colleague John Lowe. A Newcastle chaldron weighed 53cwt; a London chaldron weighed 26cwt: *O(xford) E(nglish) D(ictionary)*, II, p. 252.

13 Sun Fire Insurance Policy, No. 31015, dated 7 May 1724. Coal was included in the inventories of two generations of late-Stuart Warnford blacksmiths: H(ampshire) R(ecord) O(ffice) Probate Records, Archdeacons' series, inventory of Joan Bagin dated 12 October 1670; Admons., inventory of Thomas Bagin, dated 13 March 1678. The coal could have been brought to the village from either Petersfield or Portsmouth.

14 *(The) L(ondon) G(azette)*, 59, 4–7 June 1666; Nef, *op cit.*, II, p. 26.

15 Customs officials, London to same, Portsmouth, 17 January 1713: P.C.R.O. 11A/20/43.

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20 Sadler, *op cit.*, pp. 115, 170; Anon, *A Companion in a Tour round Southampton* (1807), p. 280.

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29 Willan, *op cit.*, p. 101.
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32 *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, America and West Indies 1661–8*, p. 450.
33 *L.G.*, 542, 19–23 January 1670; *Ibid.* 552, 27 February–2 March 1670.
34 *J(ournals of the) B(oard of) T(rade and) P(lantations) 1708–1715*, p. 112.
35 N. W. Surry and J. H. Thomas (eds.), *Book of Original Entries 1731–51* (Portsmouth Record Series, III, 1976), p. xxv.
36 *J.B.T.P. 1718–1722*, p. 72.
37 Rickman to the Duke of Richmond, 6 April 1749: West Sussex Record Office, Goodwood MSS. 112, f. 326. In 1749 the Governor of Newfoundland petitioned George II that Nova Scotia might be peopled. While contracts were in the offing for supplying the new settlements with provisions, subscription books were opened that April in London, Plymouth and Portsmouth for 'such officers and private men lately discharged the land and sea service, artificers, etc., as are desirous of settling in his Majesty's province of Nova Scotia': *J.B.T.P. 1746–1747*, p. 324.
38 P.C.R.O. 11A/16/692, deposition dated 15 April 1755; *J.B.T.P. 1746–1747*, p. 324.
39 *L.G.*, 4010, 13–17 April 1704. A pipe measured 105 gallons: *O.E.D.*, VII, p. 895.
40 *L.G.*, 294, 7–10 September 1668.
41 P.C.R.O. S3/118/151, deposition dated 17 May 1743; S3/144 depositions dated 16 April, 30 May 1757. Spanish ships also came to Portsmouth as prize vessels. On 9 December 1739 *Nostra Seigniora del Caminka*, a Spanish prize of 100 tons laden with iron, arrived: *Cal(endar of) T(reasury) B(ooks and) P(apers) 1739–41*, pp. 68–9.
42 *Cal. T.B. 1660–7*, p. 323.
43 *L.G.*, 4041, 31 July– 3 August 1704; N. Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs from September 1678 to April 1714* (6 vols. Oxford, 1857), VI, pp. 355, 674, 675.
44 *C(alendar of) T(reasury) P(apers) 1708–1714*, pp. 178–9.
45 P.C.R.O. S3/93, deposition dated 25 December 1729.
46 *A(nnual) R(egister) for 1770* (6th edn. 1803), p. 162.
47 *(The) Oxford Gazette*, 18, 11–15 January 1666; *L.G.*, 45, 16–19 April 1666; 57, 28–31 May 1666.
48 P.C.R.O. S3/54, deposition dated 24 January 1711; S3/58, deposition dated 31 May 1712; S3/74, deposition dated 3 December 1719.
49 *H.M.C. House of Lords MSS. 1708–1710*, p. 322. A deal was a slice sawn from a log of timber; it was usually 9in. wide, not more than 3in. thick and at least 6ft. long: *O.E.D.*, III, p. 66. A handspike was a wooden bar, shod with iron, used as a lever on board ship and in artillery service: *Ibid*, V, p. 68.
50 *L.G.*, 4619, 26–29 November 1709. For Anglo-Russian co-operation see M. S. Anderson, 'Great Britain and the Growth of the Russian Navy in the Eighteenth Century,' *The Mariner's Mirror*, XLVII (1956), pp. 132–46. As an example of the co-operation three Russians were entered as riggers at Portsmouth yard in 1779: National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, POR/A/29, Navy Board to Dockyard Officers, 11 January 1779. I owe this reference to the kindness of Dr R. J. B. Knight.
51 Historical Manuscripts Commission, London. Sandwich MSS. item 380, list of Portsmouth voters, 1775. I am obliged to the Honourable Victor Montagu for permission to quote from the collection.
52 B(ritish) L(ibrary) Add. MSS. 33278, ff. 31–31v.
53 P.C.R.O. S3/52, depositions dated 4, 5 November 1709; S3/58, deposition dated 31 May 1712.
54 *Ibid* S3/125, deposition dated 10 March 1747; S3/143, deposition dated 19 February 1757.
55 *A.R. for 1765* (3rd edn. 1802), p. 78.
56 P.C.R.O. S3/109, depositions dated 21–23 February 1739. Haijbert de Yong and John Abrahams served on the Dutch vessels. Robert Lockett, a Portsmouth mariner, was the third assailant. Cox later dropped the charges.
57 Materials shipped to Calshot Castle in summer 1709, apart from much-needed powder and shot, including a flag staff: Ordnance Board to Mr Hooper, 29 June 1709: (Naval Armaments Depot) P(riddy's) H(ard), Ordnance MSS., item 16.
58 In 1716 the Board of Ordnance proposed a scheme for reducing coastal defences. If implemented, it would have led to a reduction of local gun strength from 474 to 143: K. W. Maurice-Jones, *The History of Coast Artillery in the British Army* (1959), p. 19.
59 *Cal. S.P. Dom. 1677–8*, p. 611.
60 Ordnance Office to Mr Hooper, 24 December 1706: P.H. Ordnance MSS., item 18; same to Portsmouth, 13 April, 1734: P.R.O. Ordnance Office Miscellanea W.O. 55/1987, Letters received 1732–5, n.p.
61 *Cal. S.P. Dom. 1664–5*, passim; *Ibid., 1665–6*, passim; A. J. Holland, *Ships of British Oak* (Newton Abbot, 1971) p. 74.
62 Surry and Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 116–7.
63 *Cal. S.P. Dom. 1663–4*. p. 248; *Ibid., 1664–5*, pp. 133–7. A last of pitch was 12, sometimes 14, barrels: *O.E.D.*, VI, p. 85. Rug was a rough woollen material in common use in the 16th and 17th centuries. It could also be a type of strong liquor: *Ibid.*, VIII, pp. 876, 877.
64 *Cal. S.P. Dom. 1677–8*, p. 469; P.C.R.O. S3/52, deposition dated 26 January 1710.
65 *Cal. S.P. Dom. 1656–7*, p. 458.
66 *Cal. T.B. 1705–6*, pp. 457–8. The Great Storm's spectacular effects included destroying the first Eddystone lighthouse and slaying the Bishop of Bath and Wells. For further details see L. G. Carr Laughton and V. Heddon, *Great Storms* (2nd edn. 1930), pp.68–98.
67 Vice Admiral Sir J. Lawson to Admiralty Commissions, 18 June 1660: *Cal. S.P. Dom. 1660–1*, p. 57; William Hunt to Navy Commissioners 25 July, 1 August, 1660: *Ibid.*, pp. 131, 174.
68 D. A. Baugh (ed.), *Naval Administration 1715–1750* (Navy

Records Society, 1977), p. 418.

69 Richard Norton to Secretary of State Coventry, 20 September 1679: *Cal T.B. 1679–80*, p. 239.

70 *Cal. T.B. 1660–7,* p. 538. Salisbury was prosecuted subsequently for his actions: *Ibid.*, p. 550. Collector of Customs for Portsmouth, Salisbury was a local JP for eighteen years, dockyard Clerk of the Survey, Mayor 1657–8 and 1667–8, Deputy Mayor 1658–9 and 1668–9: Willis and Hoad, *op. cit.*, pp. xxviii, xxix, 176; *Cal. S. P. Dom. 1658–9,* p. 270.

71 Arnold was appointed at Southampton 2 March 1716, with a salary of £62 13s. 4d.: *Cal T.B. 1716*, pp. 129, 144; Arnold to ? Baxter, 13 November 1721: P.H. Ordnance MSS., item 16. His Portsmouth salary was £60, with £30 for a clerk: J. Chamberlayne, *Magnae Britanniae Notitia: or The Present State of Great Britain* (26th edn. 1723), pp. 514, 516.

72 Arnold to Richard Norton, 8 March 1723: H.R.O. 5M50/843; C(ambridge) U(niversity) L(ibary) C(holmondeley) (H(oughton)) Papers 44201–4. I am obliged to the Dowager Marchioness of Cholmondeley for permission to quote from these materials.

73 *Journals of the House of Commons*, XXI, p. 140.

74 C.U.L. C(H) Papers 41/23, 24.

75 P.C.R.O. S3/117, deposition dated 21 December 1742; certificate pasted in A. N. Y. Howell, *Notes on the Topography of Portsmouth* (1913), author's 'grangerised' copy located in P.C.R.O. 857A.

76 *(The) G(entleman's) M(agazine)*, XIV (1744), p. 337.

77 C.U.L. C(H) Papers 41/14.

78 *A.R. for 1767* (5th edn. 1800), p. 112. As further indication of the scale of the problem 80,000 gallons of foreign spirits and 30lbs of tobacco and snuff were seized at Cowes between 1794 and 1801: *The Hampshire Repository*, II (1801), p. 85.

79 W. A. Cole, 'Trends in Eighteenth Century Smuggling' in W. E. Minchinton (ed.), *The Growth of English Overseas Trade in the 17th and 18th Centuries* (1969), p. 131.

80 *The Hampshire Repository*, I (1799), pp. 126, 128.

81 *Cal. S.P. Dom. 1653–4*, pp. 14, 28; E. B. Sainsbury (ed.), *A Calendar of the Court Minutes of the East India Company 1677–9*, (1938), p. 65; P.C.R.O. 11A/16/484, deposition dated 7 December 1735.

82 P.R.O. State Papers Foreign 105/153, Levant Company Court Book 1669–1676, ff. 104, 269, 351.

83 P.R.O. T70/182, Balance of Royal African Company stocks 1731–43, pp. 113–4; H.R.O. Probate Records, Admons, administration of Chamberlain Atkins 1750.

84 Sainsbury, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

85 Philip Lanyon to Williamson, 9 April 1678: *Cal S.P. Dom. 1678*, p. 104. The *Harwich* reached Portsmouth on 14 April: Sainsbury, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

86 *Cal. S.P. Dom. 1651–2*, p. 353; *L.G.*, 4747, 21–23 September 1710.

87 *Despatches from England to Fort St George 1743–4* (1932), p. 16; I(ndia) O(ffice) L(ibrary and) R(ecords) B/76, East India Company Court Minutes April 1760–April 1761, ff. 71, 100.

88 Earl of Sunderland to Earl of Gainsborough, 14 January 1687: *Cal S.P. Dom. January 1686–May 1687*, p. 343. I owe this reference to the kindness of Veronica Ward. East India Company to Hugli, 8 April 1687; same to Fort St George, 8 April 1687: *Despatches from England to Fort St George 1686–92* (1929), pp. 36, 42, 46, 120.

89 *Despatches from England to Fort St George 1706–10* (1927), p. 7. Founded in 1685 by the British, Bencoolen was their chief possession in Sumatra until it was ceded to the Dutch in 1824 in exchange for Malacca: J. G. Bartholomew, *A Literary and Historical Atlas of Asia* (1912), p. 151.

90 *Despatches from England to Fort St George 1757–8* (1952), p. 94; *A.R. for 1767* (5th edn. 1800), p. 109; I.O.L.R. B/47, East India Company Court Minutes July 1702–April 1705, ff. 293, 315.

91 I.O.L.R. B/76, ff 9, 11, 18, 22, 26, 38; B/122, East India Company Court Minutes October 1795–April 1796, pp. 1481, 1498, 1523–4.

92 *Ibid*. B/37, East India Company Court Minutes April 1682–April 1684, f. 96a; B/38, East India Company Court Minutes April. 1684–April 1687, f. 147a. The sums involved were £1,123 11s. 6d. and £1,126 13s. 8d.

93 I.O.L.R. B/41, East India Company Court Minutes April 1695–April 1699, f. 66.

94 *G.M.*, LVIII (1788), p. 1129; Records of the Department of Customs and Excise, 58/1.

95 I.O.L.R. B/122, pp. 825, 843, 879, 1558, *Universal British Directory of Trade. Commerce, and Manufacture* IV (1798), p. 200; Lt Cdr C. A. Sinfield, *The Post in Portsmouth* (1982), p. 42.

96 I.O.L.R. B/122, pp. 1321–2.

97 Commissioners of Customs to Charles II, 1 July 1676: *Cal. S.P. Dom. 1676–7*, p. 200.

98 *L.G.*, 4031, 26–29 June 1704.

99 B.L. Add MSS. 8133a, f. 128. I am obliged to my colleague Nigel Surry for this reference; *The Hampshire Repository*, II (1801), pp. 77–8.

100 P.R.O. E190/830/3, Portsmouth Port Book (Coastal Trade, Inwards) 1678–9, passim.

101 C. R. Markham (ed.), *Life of Captain Stephen Martin 1666–1740* (Navy Records Society, 1895), pp. 211–2.

102 T. Cox, *Magna Britannia et Hibernia, Antiqua and Nova* (6 Vols. 1720–31), II, p. 863.

103 W. Gilpin, *Observations on the Coasts of Hampshire, Sussex and Kent in 1774* (1804), quoted M. Hoad, *Portsmouth As others have seen it* (The Portsmouth Papers, XV, 1972), p. 20.

104 B.L. Add MSS. 33652, Journal of tour to the Isle of Wight Hampshire and Wiltshire, 1818, f. 10v, entry for 18 July 1818. In October 1759 four naval vessels convoyed 'above two hundred sail of merchant ships from the West Indies' to the Isle of Wight: *A.R. for 1759* (8th edn. 1802), p. 118.

105 Surry and Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. xxxiii. The Mayor claimed a sum of 6s. 8d. for every vessel that entered the Camber: *Cal. S.P. Dom. 1699–1700,* p. 264.

106 Books of rates for wharfage dues for those dates are located in P.C.R.O. CF12/1–5. In 1680 the collection was let out to Richard Ridge: *Ibid* CF12/2, n.p.

107 P.C.R.O. CF1/6, Chamberlain's Accounts 1771–8, passim.

108 *Ibid*. 1060A/10/5, lease to Thomas Beeston dated 25 March 1657.

109 *G.M.*, I (1731), p. 353: P.R.O. Adm. 3/62, Admiralty Minutes 1750–3, minute of 19 July 1750.

110 *A.R. for 1763* (7th edn. 1796), p. 62; *A.R. for 1778* (4th edn. 1800), p. 204; *G.M.*, XIV (1744), pp. 336, 392.

111 P.C.R.O. S3/72, deposition dated 13 January 1719.

112 *L.G.*, 4113, 9–12 April 1705.

113 *A Topographical and Historical Account of Hayling Island, Hants* (1826), pp. 34, 36.

114 P.C.R.O. S3/85, deposition dated 22 September 1725; S3/119, deposition dated 16 November 1743; S3/77, deposition dated 16 June 1721.

115 P.C.R.O. S3/80, deposition dated 3 July 1722; 6A/1/1, information dated 6 September 1798.

116 P.C.R.O. S3/134, deposition dated 24 June 1752; S3/41, de-

position dated 30 September 1703; S3/120, deposition dated 16 July 1744.

117 J. Houghton, *Husbandry and Trade Improved* (3 vols. 1727 edn.), III, p. 271; A. J. C. Reger, *A Short History of Emsworth and Warblington* (1967), pp. 36–8.

118 P.C.R.O. S3/36, deposition dated 25 February 1701; S3/124 deposition dated 18 August 1746; S3/50, deposition dated 1 June 1708. Other items sold in the market included butter, cheese, pigs, chickens, pigeons and rabbits: P.C.R.O. 11A/15/303, declaration of 4 March 1716.

119 P.C.R.O. 11A/16/61, 583, depositions dated 23 July 1695 and 30 August 1745.

120 The material on the Fishery is derived from *Proceedings of the Portsmouth and Portsea Fishery* (Portsmouth, 1798), 96 pp. contained in P.C.R.O. CC7/56.

121 F. J. Fisher, 'Some Experiments in Company Organization in the Early Seventeenth Century', *Economic History Review*, IV (1933), p. 187. I am obliged to Miss Judith Tuck for this reference.

122 P.R.O. Admiralty Accounts General, Miscellaneous (Various) Adm. 49/22, Abstract of Contracts 1670, p. 43.

123 J. H. Parry, *Trade and Dominion: The European Oversea Empires in the Eighteenth Century* (1974 edn.), pp. 346–50. By 1850 three-quarters of the world's whaling fleet, 736 ships of 900, was American: *Ibid*, pp. 354, 360, quoting from W. S. Tower, *A History of the American Whale Fishery* (1907), pp. 50–3. For the impact of the Pacific whalers see G. Williams, *The Expansion of Europe in the Eighteenth Century* (1966), pp. 178–9.

124 Details of masters and tonnage were as follows: *Lydia* – Christopher Horner, 266 tons; *Atlantic* – Alexander Law, 222 tons; *Pomond* – Eber Bunker, – :I.O.L.R. B/122, pp. 946, 973, 1200.

125 *A.R. for 1813* (1814) pp. 79–80. The correspondent was misinformed. During a storm in early October 1758 a whale was cast ashore near Atherfield Rocks on the island: *A.R. for 1758* (9th edn. 1795), pp. 112–13; F. Mew, *Back of the Wight, Yarns of Wrecks and Smuggling* (1965 reprint), p. 53. In September 1798 a whale, stranded in Southampton water, was exhibited and then 'cut up and boiled for oil': *A.R. for 1798* (2nd edn. 1806), p. 85.

126 Ordnance Office to Portsmouth, 24 April 1741: P.R.O.W.O. 55/1990, Letters received 1740–1, p. 87; same to same, 28 February 1745: W.O. 55/1993, Letters received 1744–6, p. 27; Holland, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

127 R. Craig and R. Jarvis (eds.), *The Liverpool Registry of Merchant Ships* (Chetham Society, 1967), p. 67. The *Garland* may have been built in Ambrose Legg's yard, disposed of by sale in mid-September 1779: Portsmouth Central Library, Sir F. Madden's Collection of Press Cuttings, I, p. 203.

128 Holland, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 120–1, 136, 154; I.O.L.R. B/122, pp. 888, 895, 896.

129 P.R.O. C108/286, Gosport yard pay book 1745–50, passim.

130 *L.G.*, 312, 9–12 November 1668; 320, 7–10 December 1668; 3970, 25–29 November 1703.

131 *Cal. T.B. 1712*, p. 110; Dutch ambassadors to Earl of Bute, 16 July 1761: *Calendar of Home Office Papers 1760–5*, p.54; *A.R. for 1768* (6th edn. 1800), p. 104. In May 1619 Jan Pieterszoon Coen seized the Javanese port of Jakarta on which the Dutch were to develop the town of Batavia: C. R. Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire 1600–1800* (1973 edn.), pp. 211–12.

132 Sinfield, *op. cit.*, pp. 60, 41.

133 L. E. Britnor, *The History of the Sailing Packets to the West Indies* (1973), pp. 3–11. I am obliged to Mrs Joan Miles for drawing my attention to this item and for the loan of a copy. Sinfield, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

134 *L.G.*, 4869, 3–5 July 1711; Britnor, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

135 Surry and Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. xxxviii.

136 P.C.R.O. S3/36, deposition dated 11 February 1701; *G.M.*, III (1733), p. 380.

137 P.R.O. Prob 11/767, f. 37, will of James Deacon proved 10 February 1749; Prob. 11/727, f. 215, will of John Vining proved 25 June 1743; J. S. Bromley, 'Prize Office and Prize Agency at Portsmouth 1689–1748', in J. Webb, N. Yates and S. Peacock (eds.), *Hampshire Studies* (Portsmouth, 1981), pp. 177–178, 196 n. 52; W. R. Meyer, 'English Privateering in the War of the Spanish Succession 1702–1713', *The Mariner's Mirror*, LXIX (1983), pp. 440, 446n. I owe this last reference to the kindness of Mr John Marsh.

138 *Cal. T. B. 1660–7*, p. 323; R. East, *Extracts from Records in the possession of the Municipal Corporation of the Borough of Portsmouth and from other records relating thereto* (2nd edn. 1891), p. 315; P.C.R.O. S2/1,2,4, sacrament certificates dated 18 November 1678, 6 October 1682, 1 May 1685.

139 Surry and Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 99, 90; P.R.O. Prob 11/746, f. 144, will of Cornelius Colliss proved 16 May 1746; *H.M.C. House of Lords MSS. 1706–8*, pp. 194, 195.

140 *L.G.*, 3192, 11–15 June 1696; *Cal T.P. 1714–19*, p. 343.

141 H.R.O. Consistory Court Cause Papers C/10/A/219. Cullymore and Read *v*. Stanyford, 1712; *Cal. T.B. 1731–4*, p. 519. Eli, son of Eli and Catherine Stanyford, was baptised at St Thomas's 13 October, 1710: P.C.R.O. CHU 2/1A/4, Register of St Thomas 1710–1727, n.p. Henry, second son of Elias Stanyford, was admitted to the Middle Temple 23 January 1720: H. A. C. Sturgess (ed.), *Register of Admissions to the Middle Temple . . . to . . . 1944* (3 vols. 1949), I, p. 285.

142 *Bailey's Western and Midland Directory or Merchant and Tradesman's Useful Companion for the Year 1783* (1783), p. 309; Sadler, *op. cit.*, p. 104; *G.M.*, LIII (1783), Pt. II, p. 894.

143 The Henley papers, located in the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, have yet to be examined. I am obliged to Dr R. J. B. Knight for drawing may attention to them.

144 *Cal. S.P. Dom. 1652–3*, pp. 400–1; *Ibid, 1655*, p. 489; East, *op. cit.*, p. 315. Child married Hannah Boate at St Thomas's 26 December 1654. A son Josiah, born 5 February 1657, was buried 4 October 1658. Hannah Child was buried 6 March 1662: P.C.R.O. CHU 2/1A/1, Register of St Thomas 1654–1662, n.p. See also *Dictionary of National Biography*, IV, pp. 244–5.

145 E. S. de Beer (ed.), *The Diary of John Evelyn* (6 vols. 1955), IV, pp. 305–6. Child's holding amounted to 6·9 per cent of the Company's total capital: P. Kriedte, *Peasants, Landlords and Merchant Capitalists: Europe and the World Economy, 1500–1800* (1983), p. 89.

146 P.C.R.O. S3/66, list of coffee houses. By the mid-1740s a sixth establishment, the *Navy* coffee house, had been opened by a Mrs Read: P.C.R.O. S3/124, deposition dated 23 May 1746.

147 P.C.R.O. 11A/16/38, deposition dated 1 October 1689.

148 *L.G.*, 4671, 28–30 March 1710. Mr Dixon was probably James Dixon, brewing partner to Sir Thomas Ridge.

149 *L.G.*, 4739, 2–5 September 1710; 4753, 5–7 October 1710; 5210, 23–27 March 1714.

150 *L.G.*, 4769, 11–14 November 1710; 4772, 18–21 November 1710; 4784, 16–19 December 1710. Stum was unfermented or partly fermented grape-juice, otherwise known as must: *O.E.D.*, X, p. 1189. To date 'Allmadoes' has eluded definition. The *Red Lion* at Gosport was also used for such activi-

ties. In April 1706 baker Francis Palmer attended his bankruptcy hearing there; in June 1710 the 50 ton prize *Victorious St Nicholas*, berthed at Portsmouth, was sold by inch of candle at the same inn: *L.G.*, 4218, 11–15 April, 1706: 4703, 10–13 June 1710.

151 P.C.R.O. S3/62 deposition dated 10 November 1713; Markham, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

152 Howell, *op. cit.*, p. 120; Sadler, *op. cit.*, passim.

153 P.C.R.O. S3/71, deposition dated 11 October 1718; SF5/2. Gold and silver coins of southern India, pagodas were first struck at the end of the sixteenth century. There are many varieties including native-struck, those struck by the East India Company, and others by the Dutch and French: C. C. Chamberlain, *Guide to Numismatics* (1960), p. 117. Hunt was subsequently transported for seven years.

154 P.C.R.O. S3/42, deposition dated 13 March 1704; S3/44, deposition dated 8 November 1704. A satisfactory definition for 'ricolasses' has yet to be located.

155 In 1696 there was only one glass house in the Isle of Wight, capable of producing flint, green and ordinary glass: Houghton, *op. cit.*, II, p. 48. Wealden produced glass was shipped to Southampton in the 1590s: G. H. Kenyon, *The Glass Industry of the Weald* (1967), p. 113. On 4 November 1801 the *Luton* arrived from Bristol carrying 10,104 bottles, 5 sides of glass and 2 dozen glass jars: P.C.R.O. CF 13/1, n.p.

156 P.C.R.O. S3/47, deposition dated 4 June 1706; 11A/16/755, deposition dated 16 July 1764. A few months before a Delft bowl had been stolen from the window of grocer James Norris: 11A/16/746.

157 The eldest of his children was christened Stephen on 21 June 1672: P.C.R.O. CHU2/1A/2, Register of St Thomas 1662–1695, f. 77. In 1674 he was rated for a 5-hearth residence in the High Street: P.R.O. E179/247/30. T. Birch, *The History of the Royal Society of London* (4 vols. 1756–7), IV, pp. 422–4: Royal Society, Journal Book of 29 July 1685. For the vessel and its significance see Marquess of Lansdowne (ed.), *The Double Bottom or Twin-Hulled Ship of Sir William Petty* (Roxburghe Club, 1931), passim.

158 P.C.R.O. S3/129, deposition dated 8 November 1748.

159 *L.G.*, 2980, 31 May–4 June 1694.

160 The non-appearance of George Moore before local justices in November 1716 was explained by his having sailed in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company: P.C.R.O. S3/67, deposition dated 7 November 1716. Instructions were sent to the Mayor in 1713 regarding the availability of three men-of-war to convoy ships from Portsmouth to Newfoundland: Admiralty Office to the Mayor of Portsmouth, 20 May 1713: *Ibid*, 11A/20/49. A statement dated October 1721 regarding the arrival of three Frenchmen at Portsmouth from Newfoundland on board the *Ann* of London is contained in *Ibid* S3/78.

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